Socialist Voice

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International Women's Day

Women mobilize for March 8

Mass meeting of factory workers during 1976 strike of 3,000 women at Madrid textile plant. All over the world, women will celebrate March 8, International Women's Day.

Special supplement:
women's liberation
and socialism

★ Feminism flowers in English Canada

★ Bankworkers organize

★ Quebecois sisters in struggle

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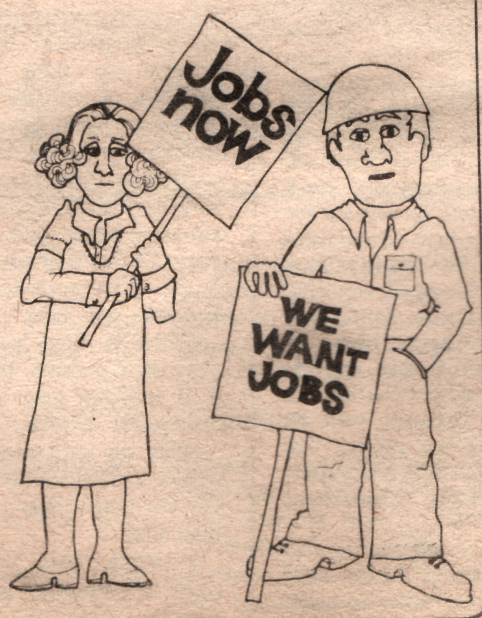
B.C. labor launches campaign for jobs



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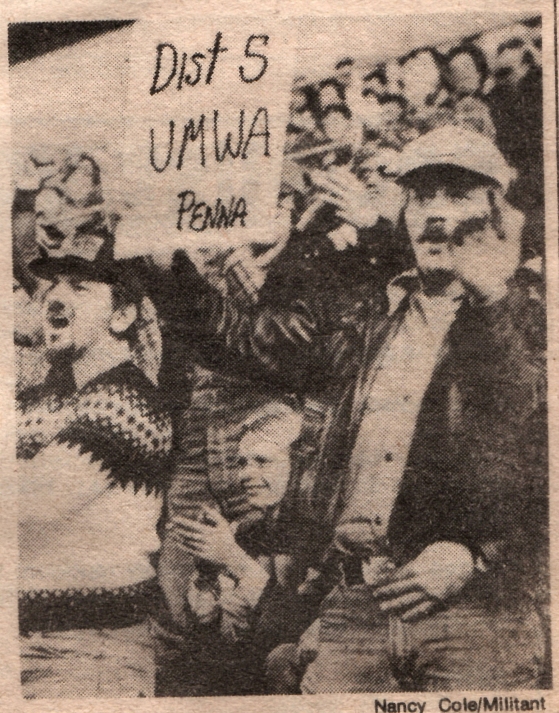
Carter vs. coal miners



Nancy Cole/Militant

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Blanco tour sparks B.C. defense work

Don Wilson/Socialist Voice

By Robert Simms

VANCOUVER — On-going solidarity work on behalf of Latin American political prisoners and stepped-up efforts to win their freedom—that's the legacy of Hugo Blanco's February 16-19 visit here.

The internationally-known exiled Peruvian revolutionary, a former political prisoner, spoke to more than 500 people in three meetings at Simon Fraser University (SFU), the University of British Columbia, and downtown Vancouver. Blanco also spoke to a meeting of 30 people, mostly Latin Americans, at a Spanish-only meeting.

Blanco began his remarks by expressing solidarity with American Indian Movement leader Leonard Peltier, deported by Ottawa and jailed by U.S. authorities.

Blanco concentrated on two themes: the extent of political repression in Latin America and the military, financial, and political support the repressive regimes receive from imperialist countries—including Canada.

A wide range of organizations and individuals sponsored Blanco's visit including: the B.C. Federation of Labor and its president, George Johnston; SFU president Pauline Jewitt; the local chapters of Amnesty International and OXFAM; the Vancouver Center Federal NDP Association; Rene Goldman, chairman of Amnesty International No. 17; the Vancouver Chilean Association; the Revolutionary Workers League; the Young Socialists; Richmond alderman Harold Steves; and Ron Johnson, Vancouver Center federal NDP candidate. Eight university professors and numerous university clubs also sponsored the events.

At the February 18 meeting Ron Johnson, Elizabeth Kallme of Amnesty International, and Donna Tyndall of the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee gave greetings.

Working for the release of political prisoners can sometimes be discouraging, Kallme said. But participating in a meeting with Blanco showed how gratifying working for human rights can be.

It took some intricate organization, but four petitions were circulated through the audiences. About 200-250 names were secured for each.

The petitions demanded Blanco's right to return to Peru, an end to torture of Paraguayan political prisoners, the release of internationally-known pianist Miguel Angel Estrella and four lawyers by the Uruguayan government, and the release of 21 Chilean militants from Pinochet's jails.

As the tour progressed, the possibilities to continue solidarity work after Blanco's visit became obvious. At a special reception for Blanco, three representatives from Amnesty International met with tour organizers to discuss how to collaborate in defending Latin American political prisoners. The momentum begun by Blanco's visit to Vancouver promises to continue.

Correction

The article on the CLC's brief to the McDonald Commission (February 20 issue) notes the witch-hunting of allegedly "Communist-dominated" unions by the "TLC" during the Cold War, but did not explain what the TLC was.

Our apologies. The article was shortened for space reasons. Taken out was a section describing the anticommunist loyalty clause adopted in 1949 by the Trades and Labor Congress (TLC), a forerunner of the Canadian Labor Congress. We neglected to include the explanation of TLC in the edited version.

Monica Jones/Socialist Voice

Prairie women meet

By Lynda Little

SASKATOON — A heartfelt singing of "Bread and Roses" brought to a close the first Prairie Women's Socialist-Feminist Conference here February 17-19. The conference was sponsored by Saskatoon Women's Liberation (SWL), the Women's Action Collective on Health (WACH, Regina), and the University of Saskatchewan Student Union Women's Directorate.

Most of the 130 women present came from prairie centers. But women from British Columbia and Ontario also participated in the weekend of intense political discussion. Activists from the following organizations participated: the Calgary Birth Control Center, Moose Jaw Women's Center, Edmonton Women's Coalition, a number of Winnipeg women's organizations, the Service, Office, and Retail Workers Union of Canada (SORWUC) Regina Organizing Committee, Saskatoon Women's Study Group, the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL), In Struggle, OXFAM, and the Gay Community Center of Saskatoon.

The idea for a socialist-feminist conference originated with Saskatoon Women's Liberation. SWL was formed in 1977 to express opposition to the powerful "prolife," antiabortion movement.

While keeping the goal of abortion rights as a priority, the group sought to further other goals of the women's movement. In the editorial of the February 1978 SWL Newsletter they outline their development.

"We began to examine our objectives and philosophy in relation to other feminist groups. The members of Saskatoon Women's Liberation agreed that our organization should adopt a socialist-feminist analysis and we subsequently began an extensive examination of various issues affecting women. Part of this examination concerned itself with the direction we should take in the future and how we could avoid the shortcomings of those that proceeded us. It was natural then, that we would eventually seek the opportunity to discuss our common goals with other feminist organizations."

The panel presentation and discussion in the first plenary session was entitled "Articulation of the Women's Movement." It provided an opportunity to analyze the past few year's downturn in the organization and activity of the women's movement.

The final plenary on "Strategy and Tactics" focused on the need for socialist-feminists to work within the women's movement for broad-based public campaigns against the "prolife," antiwoman forces in this country.

At the final session, conference participants discussed plans to work with other groups and individuals to build protest actions against Anita Bryant's visit to western Canada this spring. The conference also voted to support SORWUC's efforts to organize bankworkers.

The success of the conference can be measured by the decision to strike off a committee to make plans for a second Prairie Women's Socialist-Feminist Conference next year.

Violence against children: behind closed doors

By Beverly Bernardo

The trial of four men accused of the sexual assault and murder of 12-year-old Emanuel Jaques has been prominently displayed in the daily newspapers in Toronto in the last two weeks. The editors seem to delight in informing a sickened public of every horrible detail of the tragic events leading to the boy's death.

But the media isn't just carrying this material for its shock value. It is using the Jaques trial to whip up hostility to gay people, depicting gays as people who are likely to carry out sexual attacks against children.

The press coverage of the Jaques murder is also geared to convince people that the main danger to children comes from disturbed individuals who roam the streets molesting children.

Don't you believe it. The bulk of sexual assaults and violence against children occurs in the family. The *Toronto Star* itself proves this in a series of articles its "Family Section" is carrying on child abuse.

In Ontario last year, there were 13 confirmed deaths from child abuse. That's 13 children who were literally beaten to death at home. These deaths are no less tragic or brutal than that of Emanuel Jaques—but these types of death occur much more frequently.

In Toronto alone, the Children's Aid Society received more than 2,000 phone calls reporting suspected child-abuse cases; the agency confirmed 267 actual incidents. Police laid charges in 33 cases.

As grim as these statistics are, they don't tell the whole story. No reports are ever made on the vast majority of child-abuse incidents.

Most sexual abuse of children takes place in the family context. Dr. Robert Bates, head of the child-abuse team at the Toronto Hospital for Sick Children said, "When a 3-year old describes a sexual act in explicit detail it's not likely to be a fabrication." The majority of such assaults are heterosexual, not homosexual.

Mistreatment of children in the family is a social problem surrounded by walls of silence. In this society, children are regarded as the property of their individual parents upon whom they depend for their survival. Society takes responsiblity for children only when it becomes too glaringly obvious that they are being badly abused. Sometimes even then, nothing is done. Sometimes the intervention of others comes too late.

Because there are few mechanisms set up to care for children outside the family, abused children are often sent back into a situation where they can expect to be in danger. In Toronto last year, 69 children who had been subjected to abuse were returned home. And cutbacks in social services threaten the limited facilities that now exist to care for battered children.

Children make perfect victims. They are physically smaller than their parents. But above all, they are economically dependent and they have no legal rights. They have nowhere to turn. So abused children usually suffer in isolation.

What an indictment of our social system. Many parents are driven by frustration at their lack of control over their own lives to vent their anger on their children who are more powerless than they.

Socialists have a responsibility to dispel myths about children's situation in the family. Care of children must become a social rather than an individual responsibility. Socialists are fighting for a society in which violence against children will not be tolerated.

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Launches campaign against unemployment

B.C. labor sets an example

By Trixie Stevens and Michael Ericson

VANCOUVER—The British Columbia labor movement is launching one of the largest campaigns for jobs this country has seen since the Great Depression.

The B.C. Federation of Labor has organized a "Citizens' Lobby for Jobs." Union locals and labor councils are now busy organizing the campaign, which will feature a mass demonstration in Victoria March 30, at the opening of the spring legislative session.

Interunion committees have been set up in various areas to build the campaign. The Vancouver and New Westminster Labor Councils have set up a joint, cross-union committee that has drawn up to 60 union representatives to its meetings.

Trade unionists have set up information tables in shopping malls and outside Manpower offices. Leaflets, posters, buttons, and bumper stickers are being distributed throughout the province.

Unionists are reaching out to their potential allies—Native people, women, students, immigrants, and pensioners—to get them involved in the protest. Labor councils will provide buses to take supporters to the Victoria Demonstration.

Vancouver's Downtown Eastside Residents Association is staging an imaginative mass "job search" throughout March. In accordance with Unemployment Insurance regulations, the unemployed will apply for jobs every day. But they'll go en masse—and apply for all sorts of jobs, including top positions in major corporations, the government, the media, and even the greenhouses and nursery owned by the Social Credit government's welfare minister Bill Vander Zalm.

The most significant development is the formation of committees of the unemployed in various areas.

Construction trades locals responded first by organizing unemployed committees. There are nearly 2,500 unemployed carpenters in Vancouver alone. In recent weeks committees open to all the unemployed have been started on a city-wide basis by various labor councils, including those in Vancouver and Kamloops.

These committees are still small. But they can grow rapidly through efforts to build the March 30 protest.

Many militants are skeptical of these efforts by the B.C. Federation's leadership. They recall how it dissipated the mass campaign in 1976 against the Socreds' steep auto insurance rate increases.

But there's no doubt union leaders are feeling pressure from their ranks. Unemployment is especially serious in the construction trades and in the smaller unions where the Len Guy-George Johnston leadership of the B.C. Fed has its base. In the construction trades the jobless rate averages 34 percent of the workforce; in the boilermakers, 60 percent.

By far the biggest weakness in the campaign has been the attack on it by the right-wing faction led by Jack Munro, regional president of the woodworkers unions (IWA), John Fryer, of the B.C. government workers union (BCGEU), and Monty Alton of the Steelworkers. These rivals of the Guy-Johnston leadership seem to be doing their best to undermine these crucial first steps to organize the unemployed. Their unions, B.C.'s largest, are barely represented on the cross-union committees.

An article by a right-wing NDP member, reprinted in the IWA regional paper the *Western Canadian Lumber Worker*, attacked the Fed leadership as a parade of dinosaurs . . . "driven by a conviction that brute strength alone would solve the problems. . . ."

The other limitation on the campaign is the program of the labor bureaucracy. The focus is on "stimulating" the economy—through government handouts to corporations and redistribution of income. The assumption is that the capitalist system can be made to function more justly, even though such methods haven't worked up to now.

A program to get rid of unemployment means getting rid of its source. The unemployed campaign would be more credible if it was accompanied by proposals pointing to the need to replace the capitalist system with a planned economy based on human needs and run by the workers—socialism.

The unemployed committees can become a means of uniting all unemployed with the powerful organized strength of the labor movement. They must be given full support by the labor movement.

These committees should be democratically run, electing their own leaders and free to develop a program of struggle. An immediate demand should be for unemployment benefits for all jobless, at average union wages. No minimum work requirements, no waiting periods, no limit on benefit periods.

The unemployed also need to fight for a moratorium on debts, and to organize against evictions.

Above all, the momentum built by the campaign toward the March 30 demonstration must be continued beyond that date. Labor's goal must be much more than a lobby of the Socred government.

The unemployment crisis won't end March 30. The mobilizations shouldn't either.

ARE YOU ONE OF BRITISH COLUMBIA'S 115,000

UNEMPLOYED?

ARE YOU TIRED OF BEING THE SCAPEGOAT FOR INCOMPETENT GOVERNMENTS ?

ARE YOU SICK OF BEING SLANDERED AND MALIGNED BY POLITICIANS AND REDNECKS FOR BEING UNEMPLOYED ?

DO YOU WANT A JOB?

MOST UIC AND GAIN CLAIMANTS ARE REQUIRED TO DOCUMENT AT LEAST (SIX) JOB SEARCHES A WEEK IN ORDER TO QUALIFY FOR BENEFITS.

Let's aggressively search for work together !

JOIN DERA IN A DAILY MASS JOB SEARCH ! . . .

Windsor demonstration

1,000 auto workers say no to layoffs

UAW Guardian

1,000 Chrysler workers, 10 abreast, march past Windsor auto assembly plant.

One thousand auto workers demonstrated against unemployment and layoffs at the Chrysler center in Windsor on February 6.

Under the slogan "Plant 3 workers want human relations not labor relations," the spirited demonstration was an important step in the fightback against Chrysler's plans to lay off 1,000 workers.

The Plant Three stewards body, calling for a 30-hour week in a recent bulletin, stated: "We must focus all of our energies toward Chrysler and others responsible and let them know collectively by our voices and with our votes that we must not be blamed for the inability of our government and corporations to stabilize productivity. Neither will we continue to be the victims of their policies."

Quebec Liberal leadership

Ryan or Garneau–what's at stake

By Robert Mathieu

The race for the leadership of the Quebec Liberal Party (PLQ) is in full swing. After months of hesitations and invitations, *Le Devoir* director Claude Ryan decided to "take the plunge into politics." Raymond Garneau had to wait until the Justice ministry wiped the slate of suspicions of improper dealings that surrounded him, which it has now done. And so it has begun.

In the 1976 elections, the PLQ lost 70 seats and 21 percent of the votes. Its leader Robert Bourassa bit the dust along with another 10 or so ministers. The PLQ collapsed under an avalanche of scandals.

But for the capitalists it has remained the party to build, the only viable instrument for the Canadian ruling class in Quebec. Through its links with the party in power federally and the fact that it continues to rank second in popular support, the PLQ is irreplacable.

The capitalists urgently need to rebuild the PLQ as a credible party if they are to prevent the "constitutional" question from appearing as a "binational" conflict polarized between two parties, the Parti Quebecois in Quebec and the Liberals in Ottawa. That situation would identify federalism with forces that are foreign to Quebec —representatives of the dominant nation.

That's what Ryan was talking about when he stated that "the constitutional debate must be repatriated to Quebec politics . . . and we must ensure that the provincial Liberals provide leadership for the referendum campaign." He knows that a party has more chances of taking power in Quebec if it demonstrates a certain autonomy, even if it's only formal, in relation to the federal government. Ottawa knows that too, and fully approves his approach.

Garneau, on the other hand, presents himself as a party warhorse. He was active in the Liberal youth, and was secretary of the National Liberal Federation of Quebec, then executive secretary to Jean Lesage, then member of the National Assembly, and then minister of finance.

He projects the image of a competent administrator capable of carrying out budget cuts in the public treasury, and as a defender of private enterprise who can give priority to the Quebec economy and so "restore pride in Quebecois at being Canadians."

Opinions within the PLQ seem to be sharply divided between the two. As for the Canadian ruling class, discretion is the rule of thumb. But Ryan seems at present to be winning support from the federal Liberal leaders and some very influential members of the PLQ like Andre Raynauld, former chairman of the Economic Council of Canada; Therese Lavoie-Roux, former chairwoman of the Montreal Catholic Schools Commission; Claude Forget, Fernand Lalonde, and Rene St-Pierre, former ministers in the Bourassa cabinet. But Garneau could still win if Ryan doesn't succeed in getting rid of his image as an uptight intellectual.

The capitalists seem convinced the PLQ needs, as Ryan puts it, "a leader capable of achieving a broad national consensus," capable of wiping out memories of the incompetence and rottenness of the Bourassa regime. And a turnover like that can't be accomplished by an old-style party hack.

The PLQ badly needs to rally all the conservative layers of the population to its leadership. That's the only way the capitalists can give real impact to the regroupment process among the federalist forces. For that is what's at stake for the ruling class in Operation "Liberal leadership race."

—translated from Lutte Ouvriere

Manitoba fight back begins

By Greg McMaster

WINNIPEG — Manitoba's unions and community organizations are beginning to move against the new Conservative government—protesting unemployment, the shelving of family-law legislation that was to give women equal property rights after divorce, the termination of rent controls, and cutbacks in spending on daycare and just about every other social service.

Since the New Democratic Party's defeat on October 11, the regime of Sterling Lyon has proceeded rapidly to implement sweeping cutbacks affecting almost every aspect of life.

It has instituted a freeze in government spending and hiring. It has placed a total freeze on construction projects. Among government programs affected by staff layoffs and attrition are the rent review office, health care facilities in hospitals and old age homes in rural areas, transportation facilities to northern communities, and hours of service at the Winnipeg Art Gallery.

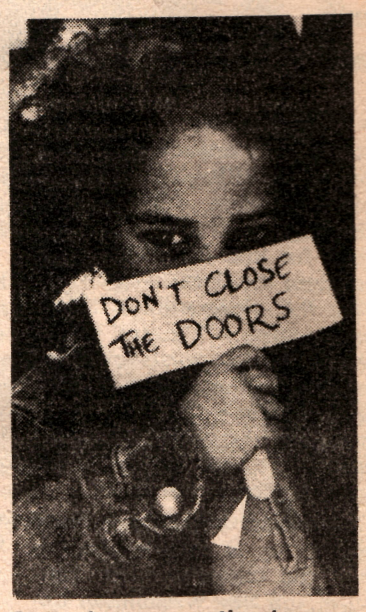
The crowning glory of Lyon's capitalist austerity program is the task force on "Government Reorganization," headed by former leader Sidney Spivak, representatives from Great West Life Assurance, and Manitoba Government Employees Association (MGEA) president Bill Jackson. The main target of this "team of experts" has been the civil service itself. Staff trimming has begun in earnest; about 500 jobs have been eliminated since the October 11 election.

When the Lyon government began to move against the NDP's family law legislation last fall, NDPers and women activists organized a militant demonstration of 800. And now, protest is building again. Actions are being planned in defense of day care, rent control, family law legislation, and jobs.

The Manitoba Child Care Association has initiated a public rally set for February 26. The Associated Tenants Action Committee, formed after a fatal apartment fire last year, has initiated the Coalition for Rent Control. A public rally is being planned for sometime in March. A rally for women's rights, daycare, family law, and against all attacks on women is being planned by the Winnipeg March 8 Committee. The Equal Rights and Opportunity Committee of the Manitoba Federation of Labor (MFL) has endorsed the March 8 action.

The MFL itself has called a demonstration against the provincial government's indifference to unemployment for March 15—close to the scheduled opening of the legislature. Unfortunately, the MFL has been reluctant to coordinate its efforts with the other groups in order to build a truly massive, united demonstration against all the Tory attacks.

Socialists will be fighting in every community and labor organization to realize this perspective. March promises to be a month of mobilization that can shake the government's program of cutbacks and unemployment.



Stop daycare cutbacks—one aim of Manitoba protests.

Steel union endorses 'industrial democracy'

By Ken Goodwin

TORONTO—In early February, just a few days before 1,200 Inco workers in Sudbury were scheduled to lose their jobs, the Ontario district of their union, the United Steelworkers (USW), held its policy conference here.

The conference failed to adopt a strategy to stop the layoffs. Instead, it endorsed labor "participation" in decision-making at the workplace, calling it "industrial democracy."

USW national director Gerard Docquier made a spirited defense of the Canadian Labor Congress's efforts to achieve "tripartite" labor-bosses-government collaboration.

The absence of any strategy or even discussion on how to save their jobs must have been disheartening to the Sudbury workers, who had been told to have "faith in the unions."

In recent months the Ontario Steelworkers District 6 has lost more than 7,000 members through shutdowns and layoffs.

Increasingly, the answer of the USW leadership is to call for economic nationalist and protectionist measures. The policy statement on the economy adopted by the conference states: "The steel industry faces imports from foreign countries that could lead to lay-offs unless action is taken now."

U.S. steel producers, of course, are saying the same thing about Canadian imports.

The statement ends with a "bill of employment rights":

"We have a right to protect our jobs from unfair competition from abroad . . . a right to control the outflow of capital . . . a right to legislate greater processing of our raw materials . . . a right to full participation in the workplace in every decision that affects our jobs."

The theme of joint decision-making with employers was prominent throughout the conference. A statement on the "quality of working life" urged steelworkers to use "collective agreements, which are themselves instruments of more industrial democracy," to achieve "Participation with management on as equal a basis as possible in any programs to make work more satisfying, and to give employees more influence in all decisions that affect their jobs, their work environment, their rights, and their community."

Docquier spoke at length on the need for unions to have "more presence and more participation in all levels of decision-making . . . at the local union level, the provincial level, and the federal level." There may be a better word than tripartism, he said, but "the idea behind the *Manifesto* is that workers need more power." He urged USW locals to send as many delegates as possible to the April CLC convention to back up this idea.

These policies were adopted by the 240 delegates with little debate. The traditional sources of opposition within the union were strangely quiet. No one proposed a militant struggle against layoffs. The only issue to generate opposition to the leadership's policies was health and safety.

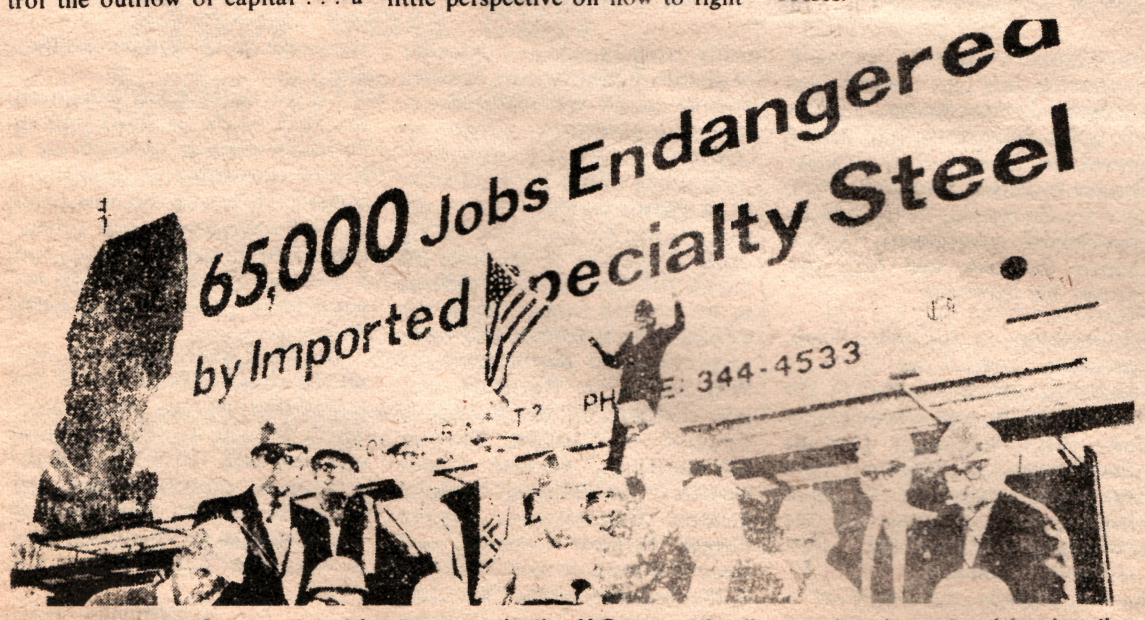
The conference reflected the state of a union severely affected by the economic crisis and with little perspective on how to fight back. Into this vacuum the bureaucracy was able to push its class-collaborationist proposals. Incredibly, Docquier even used Sudbury to this end. He said that if the union had had advance knowledge of the Inco layoffs and had been involved in the company's decisions, it might have been able to find a solution.

It is one thing to pass policy at a conference. But it is quite another to convince union members, who have seen plants shut down and brothers and sisters thrown out of work, that now they should regard their boss as a partner in decision-making rather than an enemy.

The leadership of the USW, the largest industrial union in Canada, is now a key backer of the goals of tripartism and "industrial democracy."

A number of other unions, including the United Autoworkers, the International Woodworkers, the Canadian Paperworkers, and the letter carriers, are currently studying "industrial democracy" proposals in their sectors. But the USW is the first to urge its members to actively bargain for participation in corporate decision making.

In supporting "industrial democracy," the Steelworkers leadership has taken the union movement one step further away from a fight back. These schemes to promote "industrial democracy" are as much a threat to the independence of the union movement as tripartism. The struggle of militants against tripartism has to include opposition in union locals and workplaces to *any* proposal for collaboration with the bosses.



Under two flags. Steelworkers' bureaucrats in the U.S. wave the flag against imports of foreign (including Canadian) steel. **Leaders of the same union here** back Canadian steel barons against foreign competitors, including those in the U.S.

Tripartism in action in Van Ply layoffs

Tripartite talks have averted 300 of a planned 500 layoffs at the Vancouver Plywood Mill, owned by MacMillan Bloedel. But it seems that the workers at Van Ply will pay a heavy price for their jobs.

Syd Thompson, president of the International Woodworkers of America's Vancouver local, said the decision to keep the mill running is a victory for tripartism.

"I'm an industrial democracy man and I believe that governments, unions, and employers should be making decisions together. I think it's necessary."

Thompson said the union will pressure the company in future to have more of a say in the mill's operation to ensure that it "makes a dollar."

No doubt supporters of tripartism will use this as a sterling example of their strategy. But to get the agreement the IWA has to accept 200 layoffs and a productivity deal promising future profits for the money-losing mill.

And the union's modest gains were not won through the tripartite talks. MacMillan Bloedel was forced to the bargaining table only after a cross-province meeting of union plant representatives threatened a mobilization of the IWA.

Thompson was confident that "we can look after" the 200 newly unemployed. MacMillan Bloedel would probably not mind "looking after" the entire IWA in a similar way.

Big Brother to strike votes watch

By Michael Ericson

VANCOUVER—British Columbia Labor Minister Allan Williams has announced that as of March 1, all union strike votes will be supervised by the B.C. Labor Relations Board. This latest antilabor move by the Social Credit government was brought in under a recent law giving the cabinet the right to set down rules for strike and lockout votes.

The response by labor leaders was swift; it was also disappointing. B.C. Federation of Labor secretary-treasurer Len Guy called the step "Mickey Mouse by comparison with [their] other actions." Snapped Syd Thompson, president of the Vancouver local of the International Woodworkers of America and of the Vancouver and District Labor Council: "Basically it doesn't mean a god-damned thing to the IWA."

Brothers Guy and Thompson are wrong.

Trade unions are the only bodies Canadian workers have to defend their interests. Built over more than a hundred years of struggle, unions are based on the principle of our collective strength. Only that strength and our independence from the bosses and their state structures can guarantee our ability to fight for our interests—and win. Canadian unions were legalized in 1872. But employers and successive governments have spared no effort to encroach upon our rights. From outright union busting, to the Anti-Inflation Board, to the latest decrees by B.C.'s Big Brother Bill Bennett—these are all attempts to interfere in the affairs of the trade unions.

What does acceptance of the Socred decision mean?

First, it means accepting the government innuendo that strike votes are rigged. Any dishonesty in union elections is a matter for rank-and-file members to combat.

This move also opens the door to further interference in union matters. Why shouldn't government representatives have the right to attend all union meetings? Maybe they should chair since the're so "neutral and independent"? Maybe they should keep our books?

As a next step the government might decide that all unions must conduct votes by secret ballot, or not at union meetings at all, or even by mail.

The Socred proclamation is a well-calculated move to interfere in the labor movement. The only thing "Mickey Mouse" so far has been the response of the labor leaders.

We would suggest a "Mighty Mouse" approach is more appropriate. Unions should simply refuse to go along with the "royal decree." At the same time, they must fight to have it withdrawn. "Neutral strike vote supervisors" should not be let into our union meetings nor our union halls.

Why CLC's 'industrial strategy' won't save workers' jobs

Below is the second in our series of articles discussing the central questions before the labor movement, in preparation for debate at the Canadian Labor Congress convention to be held in Quebec City April 3-7. Two articles on the facing page illustrate the profoundly negative effects on the labor movement of the union leadership's turn to tripartism and collaboration with bosses and government.

Future articles in the series will deal with Quebec, the NDP, and women's rights.

By Judy Rebick

"Labor, business say they'll join task force to boost industry." Under this headline, the *Toronto Star* reported February 16 that the Canadian Labor Congress will probably participate in a tripartite national task force on manufacturing.

The move falls right in line with the "industrial strategy" adopted by the CLC executive and ranking officers last December.

The essence of the industrial strategy is an attempt to solve unemployment by offering the government and business labor's help in shoring up a failing economy. Morris made this clear in a New Year's message urging unions to help strengthen the economy. It is even clearer in the documents adopted by the CLC executive's mid-December meeting.

"We must have a national industrial strategy that ties in the production of raw resources to each industrial sector of the economy. . . ." the document states. "Specifically, we must assure that a greater share of future investment is used to strengthen and diversify our manufacturing sector in those areas in which we can compete . . .

"1. processing and finishing more of our resources before they enter export markets. . . .

"2. expanding and strengthening our existing competitive manufacturing industries."

At What Cost?

This industrial strategy has quickly become a popular answer to unemployment in the labor movement. Conventions of the Canadian Union of Public Employees, the Ontario Federation of Labor, and the Ontario New Democratic Party adopted it without a word of opposition. In fact, there is no major force in the trade-union movement—or in the NDP—arguing against it. But is it an answer?

On the surface, the industrial strategy seems to make sense. After all, Canada's secondary manufacturing sector is weak in comparison to other advanced capitalist countries. The manufacturing sector does create more jobs per dollar invested than the resource sector. It seems economically rational to develop raw resources extracted here. But capitalism is not a rational system.

Capitalism functions on an international, not national scale. In conditions of generalized stagnation, this has important implications for any country as highly dependent on international trade and investment as Canada is.

All countries are limited in their capacity to increase their share of a relatively static international market. Moreover, many manufacturing sectors in Canada that export a large part of their production find that sales in the internal Canadian market—itself restricted by high unemployment and continuing recession—are simply not large enough to sustain normal profit levels.

The bosses' solution is to make the Canadian manufacturing industry more competitive internationally through measures aimed at increasing profits and thus incentives to invest.

And this is exactly what the CLC brass want, too.

The CLC proposal is, in essence, to tie the fight for jobs to the profits of industry. Rather than demanding jobs regardless of industry's profit levels, the CLC leaders operate within the profit rationale of capitalism and offer the workers' taxes to subsidize profits.

The industrial strategy documents spell this out very clearly. But even more radical-sounding proposals for an industrial strategy, such as the economic policy paper adopted at CUPE's last convention, lead in the same direction. Adding a demand to nationalize parts of the resource industry, as does CUPE, does not change the fact that the industrial strategy is a strategy to save capitalism at the expense of working people.

The December policy statement urges changes in three areas "to assure the expansion of our manufacturing sector": improvements "in the area of technology or research and development"; production of "a smaller product range of specific manufactured goods with a smaller number of firms which are larger and more efficient"; and transportation, energy, and manpower policies aimed at "strengthening and broadening the manufacturing sector."

Corporate handouts

Measures to achieve these goals, which are also supported by the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, would of course be financed in the usual way—through workers' taxes. But the CLC leadership goes even further: they suggest that workers' savings as well could be mobilized to subsidize industry directly.

The industrial strategy documents propose a tripartite national Labor Market Board which would obtain investment money from government revenues or pension funds, *including union pension funds.*

Nowhere is it suggested that companies receiving such investments should be state-owned and under the control of workers.

What ever happened to the corporate welfare bums? Even the Liberal government never dared to go this far in subsidizing business.

Such subsidies do not guarantee jobs.

The CLC proposal for "a smaller number of firms" is a proposal for the rationalization of industry—to eliminate the smaller and less profitable concerns. But smaller companies are often the most labor intensive. Rationalization leads to more automation and possible layoffs. So even if such "rationalization" created jobs in healthier industries, jobs would be lost elsewhere.

In addition, there is no innate superiority of manufacturing over resources. For example, Canada's reliance on the resource sector cushioned the economy from the worst effects of the international recession in the early 1970s. Manufacturing industry is just as hard hit by the economic crisis, and of course it's the workers who pay the price. Just look at Canada's aircraft industry, a traditional boom-and-bust sector.

More importantly, the cost of the industrial strategy would be a surrender of the independent defense of workers interests. If union leaders are more worried about the health of industry than the health of workers, the reason for being of the union movement is put in question. Simply put, the industrial strategy is selling the union movement down the river.

Nationalism vs. internationalism

The CLC and NDP leaderships are not the only ones proposing this kind of strategy. Throughout the capitalist world Social-Democratic parties and labor leaders are demanding more exports, fewer imports, and the protection of *their* jobs.

Rather than admit the real source of the problem—the capitalist system itself—they fall in behind the cries for sacrifice and austerity in the "national" interest. Such nationalist policies turn workers in each country against the workers in others.

Economic nationalism is dangerous to all workers, but it is especially so in Canada. It plays into the hands of Trudeau's national unity campaign. After all, aren't those Quebecois driving investment out of Canada and therefore taking jobs away from Canadian workers?

Sacrifice for the "national good" only means sacrifice for the good of the bosses.

Quebec textile workers demonstrate against clothing imports. Alliance with bosses to boost Canadian industry will weaken fight for jobs.

Playing into their hands . . .

Such policies also play into the hands of the government and the employers. *Their* real program to meet the crisis was noted recently by the *Toronto Star* editors.

Writing February 16 about the federal-provincial economic conference, the *Star* said: "Trudeau and the premiers apparently plan to fight future inflation by maintaining a high level of unemployment. How else to explain their unwillingness . . . to deal with unemployment?"

The Trudeau government intends to use the passivity of the labor leadership to keep wages down and unemployment high.

The driving force of capitalism is to increase the rate of profit by increasing the rate of exploitation of the workers. The only way to do that in a recessionary period is to drive down real wages and increase unemployment so that workers hesitate to fight for higher wages.

The profit motive explains why there are stockpiles of goods, when people around the world need those goods. If there isn't a high enough price, the capitalist will stockpile his product or stop producing until prices rise. If that means layoffs, so be it. The guiding principle is profit.

That is why there is always unemployment under capitalism. A look at the rising unemployment rate in every capitalist country will tell you that.

. . . or against their team

In a socialist system, such insanity would not occur. Under socialism, rational economic and social planning is possible because human needs, not profit, is the guiding principle. An industrial strategy based on human needs is only realistic as part of a strategy for the achievement of a socialist society. Within a capitalist framework, it is a prescription for more suffering and want.

Does that mean that it is impossible to fight unemployment under capitalism? Absolutely not. But such a fight means that workers organizations do not take responsibility for profits.

A struggle for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay would have an immediate impact on unemployment. Organizing the unorganized into a fighting force would show the Trudeau government that they will pay a high price for their do-nothing attitude on unemployment. The full resistance of the labor movement to layoffs would make bosses think twice before using layoffs as a solution to falling profits.

Just as every contract struggle is a struggle between the workers' needs and the bosses' desire to maximize profits, so the struggle against unemployment is a struggle of human needs against the needs of capital. If you accept the needs of capital, as do the CLC industrial strategy documents, you cannot defend human needs. To do that, an entirely different strategy is needed.

In this sense the industrial strategy is a continuation of the debate on tripartism. Delegates to the CLC convention must refuse to surrender the independence and fighting power of the unions in the service of a "common interest" that does not exist. Instead, we must demand an action program to win jobs now.

our view

Operation Freedom targets RCMP

"There have been—and there still are—'Operations' Cathedral, Odd Job, Ham, Puma, Vampire, Cobra, and other mysterious code names given to the operations of the political police, in Quebec and Canada.

"Now there is Operation Liberte (Operation Freedom). . . . This one is democratic and legal!"

That's how Quebec's Ligue des Droits de l'Homme (Human Rights League) introduces an important new campaign it has initiated.

Operation Liberte proposes to mobilize "a broad common front of all citizens and groups victimized by political policing in the name of 'national security,' " the League says in a 16-page pamphlet it has just published: *Black Book on the Political Police.*

The common front will publicize and campaign against police repression of political dissent.

Operation Liberte's first project is to mobilize opposition to the Trudeau government's bill to legalize mail-opening by the RCMP and other police. It has invited some 400 Quebec organizations, including the Trotskyist Ligue Ouvriere Revolutionnaire (LOR—Revolutionary Workers League), to participate in this campaign.

In a statement issued at a February 28 news conference called by the LDH, the LOR expressed full support for Operation Liberte, and emphasized the need for the trade unions to play an active role in building the campaign.

Socialist Voice salutes this Quebec initiative. It is long overdue.

Since the revelations of RCMP crimes began to unfold, there has been no centralized response by the victims. Most civil liberties groups, the trade unions, and the NDP leadership have defaulted in their responsibility.

Opponents of Canada's political police can put no confidence in royal commissions or the courts to expose these attacks on democratic rights. Ottawa has just succeeded in getting the Quebec Court of Appeal to suppress the Keable inquiry, in the name of "national security."

Mass action is needed to combat political police crimes.

The Quebec initiative must be carried forward—and emulated in English Canada.

selling the 'Voice'

Someone came to my door this morning saying: "I've come to tell you the good news! . . ." We all know what comes after that. I said I had some good news of my own, and tried to sell her a copy of *Socialist Voice.* No luck.

Oh, well, I guess that'll take time.

Meanwhile, back at the front, there is good news—in most cities the readership of *Socialist Voice* is increasing significantly.

Recent sales in Vancouver have been very good on campus and in trade unions. Other successful areas for sales were the NDP, a Chile movie and benefit, and March 8 organizing meetings.

New readers numbered 180 at the Festival of Life and Learning in Winnipeg. Again, other successful areas: the NDP and trade unions.

The Ontario NDP convention was the major political event recently in Toronto, and sales were high—249 copies, 249 new readers. Sales were also good at the "Quebec and Ireland" meeting and the Hugo Blanco meeting. Salespersons in Toronto are presently embarking on a mini-subscription drive, and a campaign to place *Socialist Voice* in as many bookstores on a regular basis as possible.

With all these new readers, the best news will come when they all decide to read the paper on a regular basis . . . *by subscribing!*

The grape vine

There is a game played by children which consists of everyone sitting around in a circle and one person whispering a comment to another, the other passing it on to another, and so on, around the circle; until it comes back to the original speaker.

It's a real laugh to hear what comes out—it almost invariably has no similarity to the original comment, and leaves one scratching one's head as to the progression that took place.

Unfortunately, this is similar to the method used by some subscribers in communicating their address changes to the circulation department of *Socialist Voice.*

Yes, we do make mistakes, that is true. But things would be a lot easier on us here if subscribers would do the following when changing addresses:

- send in a note or change of address card (available at any post office);
- include *both* your old address and your new address; and
- mark it to the attention of the circulation department.

—Diana Austman

letters

The letters column is an open forum on topics of interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that initials be used instead.

More NDP coverage requested

For the past several months, I have subscribed to *Socialist Voice* and will be happy to renew my subscription.

Please include more information on the New Democratic Party and the current perspectives of its provincial associations. This is an election year, and your readers will want as much information as possible to displace the mindless economic policies of the Liberal administration.

I realize that, as a socialist paper, you must be critical of a party whose general philosophy is merely Social-Democratic. Yet it is a solid alternative as a national party, even if the Quebec association is relatively weak.

Thank you for producing an informative and thought-provoking paper.

Bruce Wallace
Moncton, N.B.

Liked new 'logo'

Congratulations on the new paper—the revamped 'logo' is especially appreciated. It gives the paper a more dramatic flare and should make it easier to sell. Then, the content should ensure continued reading.

A word or two about the current feminist movement. To me it is disappointing that the main thrust of the movement is being contained within the capitalist system and that too much attention is being directed toward lifestyles.

The women's movement, the gay movement, and all movements that are fighting for their legitimate rights must accent the need for a social transformation.

R.H. Prinsep
Vancouver, B.C.

Wants subscription

Please send me a one-year, *first-class* subscription to *Socialist Voice.* The report we heard at the Socialist Workers Party convention about the founding of the Revolutionary Workers League was very exciting.

I want to keep up with the RWL's progress, as well as the Canadian situation as a whole. I am in the American Federation of Teachers local in Philadelphia. Your reporting on public employee struggles will be very interesting to me.

Michael Pennock
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Nationalization of Inco 'dead end,' reader says

The following letter was mailed November 19, but its publication was delayed.

I write as a supporter of the old RMG and an interested follower of the events since the fusion. I am skeptical about the basis around which the fusion happened but am willing to wait and see some practice before condemning it.

My fear is that the fusion will perpetuate the internalized focus of Canadian Trotskyism at a time when it should be most outgoing: both eyes and ears open to the proletariat. You must incorporate the specific and concrete aspects of struggles into your articles, just as we in the plant must assimilate the theoretical overview into our day-to-day practice. This may not be clear and would be better demonstrated by comments on several articles from the November 7 issue. . . .

The second article, and by far the more important development for Canadian workers, is about the Inco layoffs and the economy generally.

The front page article seems to be a descriptive, journalistic attempt, while the second piece is analysis, and finally there's an editorial. This seems to be a good way to deal with the complex issue but it falls down by revealing the lack of implantation the RWL has in the proletariat.

The journalistic piece is competent and sets the stage for the analytical article by implying certain questions about the various leaderships, the rank and file, and the call for nationalization. The analytical article falls flat and ends up demonstrating a lack of understanding of the entire situation.

Nationalize Inco as a slogan is a mistake and a dead end for workers in several ways. First, it leads one's direct actions and thinking away from the problem: Inco. It does this by appealing to the government or those in the bourgeois political arena who would respond to this slogan for whatever reason. Then one gets mired down in a confused struggle to pressure bourgeois representatives to deal harshly with the bourgeoisie.

This is a swamp where the old saying holds: "When you're up to your ass in alligators, it's hard to remember that your main objective was to drain the swamp." We must stay out of that mess.

Inco decided to lay off and Inco must be forced to rescind it. This kind of victory is the only victory which can significantly raise the level of class struggle in Canada.

Second, even if nationalization without compensation, or more likely with it, were achieved, it would be a defeat and working people know this. The result would be akin to the "share the misery" concept Trudeau proposed.

You admit that the "government could continue production; temporary deficits, if any would be absorbed by the public treasury." But that is exactly what workers fear now—the use of public treasury, that is, our taxes, to subsidize industrial production.

Our just anger demands that Inco be forced to run at a deficit, to use past profits to maintain workers. This is the clearest form of class struggle and the one where lessons are learned.

Thus your conclusion that nationalization is the only realistic solution is weakened, and further weakened by your vague "would" and "could" prescriptions for socialism in one industry.

Your comment that "proposals short of nationalization are futile" shows a misunderstanding of the difference between the local union leadership's proposals and the NDP politician's proposals. They are the same in kind but vary because of their material relationship to the situation. It is a mistake for us to fall for the NDP Social-Democratic smokescreen, just as we must not fall for backroom deals between Inco and Steelworkers bureaucrats.

If your assertion that Sudbury workers are ready to fight had come from implantation instead of wishful writing then your programmatic conclusions would have been more specific, conrete, and would serve to blow away the smoke of nationalization.

The editorial shows a glimmer of understanding, but can come up with nothing better than "prepare for the inevitable future battles" and other vague generalities—a real failure in leadership for something which strives to be the party of the vanguard.

My suspicion is that in fact Inco workers are angry but not in the mood to fight collectively. Defeat is too real a possibility—after all, we are at the beginning of a depression, not the end. People will respond individually right now, but that will change and we must keep on top of these developments. . . .

L. Flintabatty
Flin Flon

Socialism and feminism: the beginning of herstory

By Varda Burstyn and Andrea Goth

"We have too far to go
Not to really know
Just how we're getting there . . ."

Jamaican freedom song

Time travel: imagine a world without sexual chains, a world where women design spacecraft and men nurture children; a world where home and work are no longer two armed camps, but dissolved in a collective embrace arranged to warm the fires of life rather than simply fill the dung heaps of profit.

It sounds like a dream, and it is. But in a society where women are freed from sole and individual responsibility for child rearing and other forms of domestic labor, this dream would become tangible.

No longer would women have to perform a second day of labor after returning from "work." Society—men and women—would take collective responsibility for these essential tasks. Human and material resources would be marshalled and organized to build and maintain a network of quality childcare, collective laundries, kitchens, and cleaning services. Women would be freed to do all those things which now can only be pursued "far from home" in both the mental and geographical sense of the term.

The stranglehold of women's imprisonment in the family would be broken, humane and loving alternatives developed. The cages of distorted, alienated sexuality would be empty. Creativity would be an everyday thing for everybody.

The disappearance of the sexual division of labor would bring with it the total transformation of the two separate worlds now assigned to men and women. For women will not stand for the brutal and alienating conditions of the "public world"—the "man's" world—where both men and women slave under the bosses' thumb, in sterile, polluted, and impersonal surroundings. Nor will men settle for the narrowness of private work in the home or the dead-end job ghettos in which women now toil.

More than any other social movement of the oppressed, the women's liberation movement fights for the *humanization* of life—everyday life. Our struggle is not only to be released from sole responsibility for domestic labor. It is also a fight to reshape the public landscape of schools, factories, offices, theatres, parliaments, armies.

The disappearance of women's oppression—the oldest form of oppression of human by human—will signal the liberation of the species as a whole. Only then will we be a species of whole human beings, in harmony with ourselves and each other.

The face of the enemy

What stands in the way of making this vision a reality? To begin with, the deeply embedded patriarchal institutions and ideology which justifies women's place today—whether in the home or in the extension of that role in the workforce. In order to challenge the dominant notion of women as wives and mothers first, we have to battle on many fronts. The battle takes the form of fights for equal pay, for maternity leave without penalty, for childcare centers, for equal access to jobs and an education system that can make our chances for those jobs equal to those of men.

Within the organizations of the workers movement, the fight is for measures which enable us to participate equally with men—ranging from childcare and special meeting times to democratic procedures. It is a fight to meet and organize ourselves.

It is a struggle we wage inside ourselves as well—to break free from all of the so-called "feminine" roles we have all internalized to one degree or another. It is a struggle for rights for all people to love whomever they choose, and against the constant barrage of antigay propaganda which inundates us from the time we are children. It is a struggle for the unequivocal right of women to control our own bodies, to develop and enjoy our sexuality.

But as soon as the women's movement begins to struggle against sexist ideology, it becomes clear that we cannot change people's *ideas* without changing the *conditions* which produce and reinforce these ideas. And it is here that we run up against barriers that are truly grave. For in order to free women from unpaid domestic labor we need an alternative: a universal system of childcare, laundries, eating places, etc.

But these services the state is completely unwilling to provide. Even now the meager social services we have are being cut back. The capitalist rulers will fight tooth and nail against real equal pay because they must continue to bolster their profits from the superexploitation of women workers. And this is also why they will oppose women's right to control our bodies. That would challenge women's roles, on which our superexploitation is built.

We face not only patriarchal ideology and institutions, but also an economic and political system which relies on and benefits from our special oppression and which is a deadly opponent of women's liberation.

When the women's movement convinces a majority of the population of its goals, we still face the institutions of inequality and oppression: the family, schools, the church, mass media, the courts, the legislatures, and the armies. And these are institutions which the capitalist system has been willing to defend by force of arms—whether in Spain in the 1930s or in Chile in the 1970s.

Of course the bourgeoisie prefers to protect its power through less stringent measures, through the use of the courts and the legislatures, for example. All these hallowed institutions not only actively perpetuate women's oppression by denying abortion, childcare, social services, and equal pay, but also maintain the oppression of the Quebecois, beat us over the head with the Anti-Inflation Board, and protect Canadian interests in South Africa.

These are the institutions that rob Native people of their land and rights, and build more and more nuclear reactors, for use at home and abroad. But when the women's movement grows and develops to massive proportions, it will find that the system is quite prepared to sidestep these institutions and confront us with naked violence.

Patriarchy and capitalism go together like a horse and carriage, and they understand each other perfectly. The Roman Catholic church, for example, has surpassed any purely capitalist institution in putting women in their place and keeping them there. It joins forces with the bible-thumping, firebreathing evangelical troops Anita Bryant is mobilizing against abortion, lesbian and gay rights. And what victories these reactionaries win are implemented by the state. But the state's chief imperatives come from the capitalist class itself—those who own the mines, mills, construction companies, garment factories, food conglomerates, insurance companies, and banks.

No women's liberation without socialist revolution
No socialism without women's liberation

The struggle for women's liberation is a struggle for a planned economy under workers control; an economy in which people can decide to put aside millions for childcare and birth control research, instead of spending them on neutron bombs and the RCMP; an economy in which workers can decide to close a polluting plant without fear of losing their jobs; and in which no woman need ever sell her body to guarantee the necessities of life. It is a struggle for a political system based on neighborhood, office, factory, school, regional, national, and international councils, in which *real* political decisions can be made. Unlike this rotten parliamentary system where we are offered the privilege of casting our vote every four years for candidates whom we despise, our representatives will be subject to our control, including immediate recall if we disagree with their actions.

The tasks of the women's movement and the workers movement are so complementary that neither will succeed without the other. The goals of feminism cannot be achieved without a socialist revolution, but socialism cannot be achieved without women's liberation.

Despite the claims of the bureaucratic rulers of the Soviet Union, we know that socialism has not yet been created because, among other things, women are still the oppressed sex. And it is no accident that the rulers who betrayed the Russian revolution have actively fought against the material and ideological measures which would free women. They have put every conceivable obstacle in the way of the development of an autonomous women's movement. Why? Because they know that their power depends on holding the working class as a whole back from the fight for human liberation.

They understand how the movement for women's liberation spreads across all other divisions within the population, and how it spurs on a struggle against hierarchy and inequality. So the bureaucrats' policies have consistently reinforced the strength of the nuclear family, and women's role within it; women's double day of labor is as heavy in Eastern Europe as it is in the advanced capitalist countries, if not heavier in some cases.

The conclusion is clear—women's oppression cannot be overthrown simply by overthrowing capitalism and integrating women into the workforce. It must be attacked by freeing women from the responsibility for all the tasks of reproduction. And only an autonomous women's movement can ensure that this goal is achieved.

But an independent women's movement does not mean a neutral movement. Because the enemy is not simply patriarchy, but patriarchal capitalism, the women's movement must become a partisan of the class which is located and organized at the point of production, the class which has the power to expropriate the factories, mines and mills, reshaping them and turning them towards the goal of enriching life. The whole edifice of capitalism rests on the base of private ownership of the means of production. The road to our liberation lies through their collectivization and popular control, a process that will be led by the entire working class.

The experience of Social-Democratic governments—whether in Sweden, West Germany, or in Saskatchewan, British Columbia, or Manitoba—give clear evidence that the capitalist system cannot be reformed from within. The necessity for a socialist revolution is imposed on all women's liberationists by the very nature of this society. And the necessity of a revolutionary party, which can single-mindedly pursue this goal, is imposed on us by the tenacity, centralization, and viciousness of a system fighting desperately for its survival.

If capitalism survives much longer, the very existence of life on this planet will be in question. Because of women's daily involvement in the nurturing of life, perhaps we best understand that the rape of nature spells doom for all. With the freedom socialism can bring us, we will be able to take that understanding into the world, reasserting the importance of humanity's balance with nature, of care and cooperation with her and ourselves.

Spring in English Canada

The flowering of the women's movement

By Beverly Bernardo and Varda Burstyn

International Women's Day 1978 marks an historic turning point for the women's movement in English Canada. For the first time, women in at least seven cities across English Canada will be marching arm in arm with our Quebecois sisters in united action against our oppression.

In the past few years the women's movement in Quebec has organized activities on March 8. The encouraging results of our first efforts this year in English Canada are a source of inspiration. The important thing now is to consolidate and extend the links that we have made and take the women's movement to a new stage.

What is the women's movement

All women active in struggling against their specific oppression as women are part of the women's movement. This includes women in many kinds of organizations—trade unions, the New Democratic Party, neighborhood organizations, schools and universities, as well as those organized in women-only feminist groups. Understanding that the women's movement encompasses women concerned with many aspects of our oppression and located in many different areas is vital to finding the ways to unite all our forces in action.

Despite its growth in numbers and its diversity, the organized women's movement is still small in comparison to the population. And although feminist ideas have spread throughout society, the organized women's movement has not yet been able to organize and mobilize enough people to fight the attacks that women are facing. However, the organizing of International Women's Day clearly indicates that the possibilities for strengthening and broadening the movement are now tangible.

One of the most important indicators of these possibilities of the spreading of women's organizations in the trade unions. Some of the provincial labor federations, the Canadian Labor Congress (CLC), and many union locals have established women's committees in some form. Trade-union women's conferences have been held across the country. Ontario Working Women (OWW) in Toronto has been one of the most important organizers for March 8. In Alberta, the women at Parkland Nursing Home—involved in the biggest labor struggle in the province—have also thrown their efforts into March 8.

It is now possible to envision the growth of a really mass women's movement, uniting women in the labor movement with feminists working in women's organizations.

A series of problems confront us: The women's movement is still fragmented, regionally and among the many groups involved in different struggles. Coordination between different sectors is still non-existent, except in B.C. where the British Columbia Federation of Women (BCFW) has been able to provide coordination and communication. And these problems have meant that the women's movement has not been able to respond in an organized fashion to attacks against it.

We have not yet found ways to galvanize all our forces into a strong movement. Our inability to unite is a major problem. On the one hand, both the unions and the NDP have historically ignored women's issues—particularly those issues not specifically dealing with women's situation on the job. On the other hand, many of the women-only organizations have taken a sectarian attitude toward the majority of women, including working and immigrant women.

Women under attack

The picture confronting women today is grim. The gap between men's and women's wages continues to grow. Hospital cutbacks are threatening to reduce even further the number of legal abortions. Provincial and municipal governments are restricting spending on childcare. Immigrant women are being deported. Violence against women is on the rise.

Taken together, all these separate attacks spell a calculated offensive undertaken by big business and all levels of government. The aim of this offensive is not only to reduce living standards and roll back previous gains, but also to shore up that most sacrosanct of bourgeois institutions—the bourgeois family and women's role within it.

Gays, youth, and immigrants are also targets of this reactionary campaign. This concerted attack has begun to produce a growing realization that all the oppressed face a common enemy in the patriarchal-capitalist system. The demonstrations in Toronto against Anita Bryant brought together feminists, lesbians, gays, and youth.

Where do we go from here

If our longterm goal is to transform society into a place where women are truly equal and free, we must begin by defending the gains the women's movement has made over the last decade. We are obliged to adopt a strategy of countermobilization against these attacks.

A successful counterattack must of necessity be massive and militant. And this means that the movement will have to fight staunchly for the needs of the majority and for the needs of the most oppressed, without abdicating on the issues directly confronting the subordinate roles assigned to women.

Learning to work and join together, while arming the women's movement with a fighting perspective, will be crucial in halting these attacks. Because of the great number of issues taken up by the women's movement and because of the many different political currents and perspectives involved, unity at this stage will have to be built on the specific issues which all agree to take up.

The Toronto call for March 8 is a good example of such unity. It champions the cause of working women, immigrant women, Native women, and lesbians. It raises demands for the right to abortion and childcare. It also calls for measures to take steps to end violence against women. Unity in action around a number of important issues should be seen as *complementary* to organizing single-issue actions against specific attacks which are occurring, such as women's right to abortion.

A fighting perspective

It is becoming increasingly clear that the present lack of structures for communication and coordination, through which to have debates and discussions, makes it impossible for the women's movement to determine and implement our priorities collectively.

The many self-help projects initiated by feminist groups provide useful services for limited numbers of women and models for what good, prowoman social services should be like. But they cannot possibly relieve the problems inflicted on the majority of women under capitalism. A mass women's movement mobilizing in the streets demanding our rights and insisting on our humanity is the only route to success.

The scope of activity around March 8 shows that many women in English Canada are drawing these conclusions about the need for a fighting perspective against the state.

While the political situation in Quebec results in some differences between the women's movement in the two nations, the March 8 actions in English Canada and Quebec demonstrate the need for collaboration with our Quebecois sisters. Our responsibility is clear; we must not default in this crucial task.

The heartening response to March 8 is a sign the women's movement is ready to take steps to coordinate its actions on a local, regional, national, and to some extent a bi-national level.

In order to build on March 8's accomplishments in reaching out to new women, the women's movement must discuss where we go from here. As a good first step, the Toronto March 8 committee has set up a follow-up committee to make recommendations on post March 8 activity.

The March 8 groups across the country are now in a position to facilitate this discussion. Committees can be struck off in every city to organize regional conferences for the fall. These conferences, while assessing the March 8

Militant, democratic ba

Like most con-artists and gamblers, bankers don't sleep very well. Lately their nights have been awful. Their dreams have been invaded by demonic union agitators signing up employees in branch after branch of their 6,000 outlets.

The British Columbia-based Service, Office, and Retail Workers Union of Canada's (SORWUC) drive to organize bankworkers, 80 percent of whom are women, is really making an impact.

Last June, SORWUC won the right to organize the banks on a branch-by-branch basis.

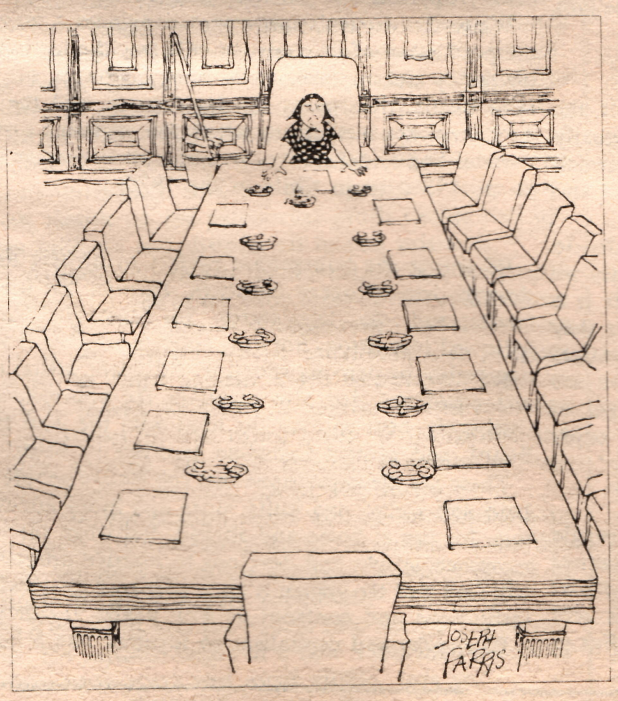
At the time, Canadian Labor Congress Secretary-Treasurer Donald Montgomery called SORWUC's drive, "small and amateurish."

"You don't take on corporations like the banks with a sling-shot," he said.

But despite its small size and resources, SORWUC has used its sling-shot to win certification in 24 branches in B.C. and two in Saskatchewan. After years of being underpaid, overworked, and neglected by the labor movement, women bank employees are signing up by the hundreds.

Why? Because in sharp contrast to the CLC's splashy, perfunctory, and ill-fated organizing campaigns of the past, SORWUC's campaign ensures membership control and focuses on issues directly relating to women workers.

The CLC has much to learn from SORWUC's success. But although it recently set up a bank organizing committee, it has turned down SORWUC's urgent requests for



'Attention, male chauvinist pigs. . . .'

Socialist Voice: Is it getting any easier to organize women workers in B.C.?

Heather MacNeill: Well, there are two ways of looking at this question. The labor laws have been changed by the Socred government, making it tougher to sign up new members.

And when we apply for certification, the membership now has 10 days to reconsider. You can imagine the intense period of harassment that sets up. And the employers are able to say anything at all short of threatening to beat us up.

But apart from the legal situation, as far as we are concerned, the next period is going to be very good for organizing. Women are still overworked and underpaid. The economic crisis is hitting hard and the women's movement of the '60s has made women more open to trade unionism.

S.V.: March 8, International Women's Day, promises to be the largest demonstration in years, there were large actions around the rape issue, and there is the recent success of your union. Do you anticipate a regroupment of the women's organizations and a rejuvenation of the women's movement?

MacNeill: I think what is happening is a change in focus of the women's movement. The movement is relating more to office workers—an attempt is being made to broaden

actions and discussing the major issues before us, could begin to focus on the problems posed by the lack of coordination in the women's movement. The BCFW and the National Organization for Women in the United States could be examined for useful lessons in organization and structure. Communication networks and coordination could be launched from these conferences.

International Women's Day 1978 increases our conviction that a strong women's movement is both a necessity and a possibility. Our actions after March 8 will determine whether or not that future becomes reality.

Abortion fight: striking at the heart of women's oppression

By Meg Luxton

We demand the right to control our bodies!

We will bear children if and when we choose!

These demands are raised whenever women come together to fight for their liberation. In almost every country in Europe women are rising, building a women's movement with links across the continent. And one of the first demands raised is the right of women to decide freely whether or not they want children.

This struggle has been the largest and most massive battle waged by the women's movement in Europe.

The early wave of women's struggles, stimulated by student and anti-imperialist mobilizations of the late 1960s, took place mainly in northern European countries, and focused on the demand for free abortion. Student, intellectual, and professional women fought for and won a number of important gains.

Bourgeois governments were forced to make concessions—and they could afford to do so. In 1967 in Britain, women won the right to legal abortions up to the 28th week of pregnancy. In Belgium and the Netherlands, despite the laws, women are permitted to get abortions in semi-legal clinics. In 1975, French women won the right to abortions up to the 10th week.

But often once these initial gains were won, women stopped struggling as hard. In some cases, groups formed to fight for abortion disbanded after their first victory. The governments had succeeded temporarily in cooling out a radicalization which it considered dangerous.

In catholic countries like Italy and Spain the struggle began more slowly. But since 1975 it has been very explosive, opening up extensive discussions on the nature of sexuality, the family, and women's position in society.

Thirty thousand women marched through Rome in 1976 for freedom of abortion, helping to bring down the government. And as Italian women successfully established their own democratically-run consultori (abortion and birth control centers) in face of massive opposition, they challenged the domination of professional capitalist medicine and the state's right to control social services.

In Spain where abortion is treated as a heinous crime, women's groups have launched a campaign, in the image of their Italian sisters, for family planning centers and free abortion and contraception on demand.

Crisis and cutbacks

In the midst of increasing economic difficulties, capitalist rulers feel compelled to reverse the limited 'liberalization' they allowed in the late '60s and early '70s. Budget cuts hit hard at social services and health care, eroding the gains of women. To counter the decay of family stability and traditional sex roles, capitalists are uniting with reactionary religious groups and even fascists to launch an attack on all aspects of women's liberation, including abortion.

Right-wing anti-abortion groups have mushroomed. In Britain the anti-abortion movement has seriously challenged the present law twice in the past three years. In Belgium, the Netherlands, and France cutbacks threaten to erode what services currently exist.

The vehemence of their attack indicates how much they fear the struggles of women.

In response to these attacks, women in most European countries have organized local and often national organizations to lead the abortion struggle. There have been petitions, occupations, conferences, and demonstrations. In Germany 5,000 people marched for abortion in 1975. 30,000 took to the streets in Italy.

Learning from our struggle

What has the European women's movement learned and what does its experience tell us?

We must never end our vigilance; we must always be on the offensive, broadening our movement and our influence. The demand for abortion is one that strikes at the heart of women's subordination. It is a struggle which challenges both women's traditional roles and the power of the state. It is this threat that our enemies understand and they are dead set against us. We must never let them get away with their attacks on our rights and humanity.

In Italy the women's movement has been extremely vigilant in its struggle for the consultori. But while it concentrated its efforts on building an excellent national network of centers, it neglected the struggle to change the law, and in 1977 the government passed laws threatening the very existence of the consultori.

Linking up with workers struggles

Success in our struggle depends on many things, but one of the most important requirements is our ability to influence and activate the majority of working people. While

the issue of abortion has been hotly debated among workers organizations throughout Europe, very few have given any *real* support. But the opening is there, and we must seize upon it, to develop links with workers struggles and force the trade unions and workers political organizations to come behind our struggle.

In Britain, the National Abortion Campaign picketed in front of hospitals protesting shortages of beds and denouncing doctors' refusals to perform abortions. The protest got an enthusiastic response—often it was the hospital workers who organized the pickets.

Simultaneously, national abortion struggles must reach out to form international links of solidarity. March 8, 1977 was celebrated all over Europe by demonstrations demanding among other things free abortion on demand.

It will be through our fighting unity and vigilance that we will one day soon assemble the power and collective spirit to control our bodies and our lives.

nk organizing campaign

funding.

But many CLC-affiliated unions did respond—donations and long-term loans from the International Woodworkers, Retail Clerks, and others, have steadily trickled into the union.

The potential impact of an influx of 100,000 women workers into the labor movement, coupled with the inspiration this gives other organizing efforts, is immeasurable.

Our Vancouver correspondent interviewed Heather MacNeill, a SORWUC organizer for the past year.

In keeping with SORWUC's constitution, which allows only one-year terms in paid positions, MacNeill will be going back to the workforce in April. —A.G.

the movement. In B.C. the whole question of trade unionism is meshing with women's issues.

Our union has always relied on support from women's organizations—and there has been a tremendous response. We need these groups.

So the women's movement is finding that its base has changed. We are finally dealing with the majority of women, not just the career women of *Ms. Magazine.*

S.V.: What effect is the women's movement having on the trade-union movement?

MacNeill: Democracy. That is the really important feature in the fusion of the women's movement and the union movement.

It is the same sort of effect that occurred in the last major organizing period in the 1930s. Then, as now, it was young workers raising the question of democracy within the unions. Then it was the struggle between the craft unions and the industrial unions; now it is the organizing of unorganized women—and the key again is democracy.

One of our counterparts in the CLC, the Office and Technical Employees Union, has already improved their constitution in this respect. But the real importance is the effect we will continue to have.

Our union has been built by the rank and file. Many of our volunteer organizers have never been active before, and it is these people, operating within our democratic structures, that are going to change the union movement.

S.V.: How can a small union like SORWUC prove itself when it is taking on one of the most centralized powers in the country?

MacNeill: One of the criticisms of SORWUC is that it is a small union with no professional organizers. A lot of sincere people have raised this. But the last year and a half has shown that the only way to organize a new industry is through the grass roots, not by professionals. There weren't $30,000 a year pros in the '30s. Only an organizing drive controlled and carried out by employees themselves can sustain the effort required for this long hard drive.

All of our members are integrated into our campaigns. Our money goes to ensure this democracy, through paying for collect calls and flights from the north to attend executive meetings, and so on.

The CLC is pushing for professional organizers, but in my opinion it is just a way of playing on women's insecurities. It serves to mystify the complexities of organizing and negotiating a contract. It's like saying workers don't know what they want in a contract.

S.V.: What support has come from the established unions?

MacNeill: We have support from the rank and file and executives alike. Generally we are trying to get our organization to have close relations with other trade unions in their area. In Gibson's, a town just outside of Vancouver, we are having a meeting with the Canadian Paperworkers Union and the ferry workers. There is a grievance going on up there and if one of our members doesn't get her job back, those unions and their members will withdraw their accounts.

We go out and speak to other unions and get financial help from them as well as help in our leafletting.

S.V.: What are you going to do when your term as organizer ends?

MacNeill: When I finish in the union office I have to go out and get a job. Most likely it will be an unorganized office. It's my life. We will all be working for the rest of our lives.

Quebecois sisters in struggle

By Beverly Bernardo and Andrea Goth

It was a decade ago that Quebecois women began to organize, in much the same way that women in the United States and English Canada were compelled to form women's liberation groups. Student struggles and the anti-war movement led women to address their oppression directly.

But the women's movement very quickly took on its own unique characteristics due to the national oppression of the Quebecois and the central role it has occupied in Quebec political life.

Quebecois nationalist struggles of the late 1960s and early '70s inspired women to fight for themselves. It was during the height of the nationalist mass actions, that the first independent women's organization—the Women's Liberation Front (FLF) was formed in 1969.

But the FLF had a short life, disappearing in 1972 after intermittent actions and educational activities.

After 1972 women from the Montreal Women's Center continued to publish *Quebecoises Debouttes* (Quebec Women Rising), the magazine founded by the FLF. These women together with women teachers and activists in neighborhood groups, provided a degree of continuity between the FLF and the new women's movement that arose after explosive labor struggles in 1972.

Women's struggles in the unions

Reflecting the higher level of class combativity in Quebec, women began struggling for their demands within the unions before women in English Canada. The radicalization of Quebecois women has had a deep resonance within the labor movement, forcing discussion of women's issues in the unions.

In 1972 a Common Front was organized of all workers in the public sector in the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN), the Federation of Quebec Teachers (CEQ), and the Quebec Federation of Labor (FTQ). By April the Common Front had launched a general strike of all Quebec public sector workers, the biggest strike in Canadian history prior to the October 14, 1976 one-day general strike against wage controls.

Women played a significant role in the strike. Sixty percent of the strikers were female, and 90 percent of the 40,000 workers making under the $100 minimum weekly wage demanded by the unions were women.

But in negotiations with the government, the demand for a $100 weekly minimum wage was the first to be dropped by the union leadership—like a hot potato.

While women had not met together during the massive strike wave, this experience showed many that they were going to have to battle hard for the unions to take up their demands in a serious way.

In the years following the Common Front, many women's centers sprung up throughout Quebec. Groups organized to fight around specific issues like childcare also appeared.

By 1975 the CSN, the CEQ, and the FTQ had all formed women's committees. Women unionists tended to focus on the discrimination they faced in their unions and began the struggle to reverse the traditional neglect of women's issues in the unions. But the emergence of these committees was influenced as well by the growth of the women's movement, and questions which had been the sole concern of the organized women's groups, like abortion, began to be taken up in the unions.

That women must vigilantly fight for the unions to take up their struggles was demonstrated once again during the 1976 Common Front strike, which actively involved 125,000 women. Once again, a demand benefitting women—for paid maternity leave—was the first to be dropped.

The PQ: a new government, the same attacks

Since the Parti Quebecois (PQ) came to power in November 1976 the relationship between the struggles of women and the national struggle have taken on a special importance.

The PQ through its nationalist rhetoric succeeded in sowing illusions that began to divert those struggling for the independence of Quebec. It was also successful for a time in slowing the tide of women's struggles.

But attacks on women have not let up since the PQ's election. It is the lives of women that have been most severely affected by cutbacks in social services, the lack of childcare, maternity leave, and the denial of abortion. Under a PQ regime it is still impossible for a woman on welfare or with several children to make ends meet.

While many women continue to believe that they can win their demands by relying on the goodwill of the PQ, more and more women are coming to realize that it is only by struggling against this bourgeois government that they will be able to win true equality and freedom.

The experience of the PQ convention in May 1977 was an eloquent demonstration of just this. The 1,500 delegates voted by a 60 percent majority in favor of free abortion on demand, but Rene Levesque didn't waste any time in dissociating himself from the resolution. "My government will not consider itself bound by a position taken by the convention on a subject as controversial as this one."

In response to the PQ's betrayals of women, the Regroupment of Quebecois Women has been formed. Reflecting the growing dissidence within the PQ, this group has already held a conference attended by 200 women.

The abortion battle

The struggle for free abortion on demand has played a crucial role in the Quebec women's movement since its inception. After a period of lull, this struggle received a tremendous impetus from the third acquittal and subsequent release of Dr. Henry Morgentaler in early 1977. In April 1977, 2,000 people took to the streets in Montreal, demanding free abortion.

An incredible number of women's groups (comite de lutte) have sprung up in the last couple of years: the struggle committee for free abortion on demand, the women's bookstore, women's hostels in Montreal and Quebec City, rape crisis centers, and so on. Some struggle around specific issues, others provide important services to women. And even though these groups have different analyses and perspectives, and often have little contact with each other, more women now feel the need for these groups to unite in action.

Most recently this was affirmed at a January 28-29 Montreal conference to plan the next stage in the abortion struggle. One hundred women attended from more than 30 women's groups across Quebec. And for the first time representatives from the labor movement participated in an abortion conference.

March 8, 1978

For several years, the women's movement and the trade unions have organized International Women's Day activities. This year's March 8 protest will emphasize two important things: the international character of March 8 and collaboration between the women's movement and the workers movement.

The recent growth of links between the unions and the women's movement is extremely significant in beginning to overcome the divisions which have existed between union feminists and the organized women's groups. Thanks to this growing collaboration, this year's March 8 promises to be the largest and broadest in Quebec history.

Working towards the socialist future

By Jess MacKenzie and Andrea Goth

International capitalism is in decay. Its bitter hallmarks are everywhere: economic crisis, famine, war, sexual and national oppression, racism, and ecological disaster.

As revolutionary Marxists we are convinced that the only solution to these problems is the elimination of capitalism and its institutions. This entails abolishing all forms of sexual, racist, and national oppression; establishing collective ownership and control of production; and humane, rational economic and social planning.

The liberation of one half of humanity—the liberation of women—is essential and of vital concern for the world revolution. Women face two intertwined systems of oppression and exploitation, patriarchy and capitalism; and our liberation from the oldest form of oppression of human by human, will signal the liberation of all people.

One of the first tasks of the victorious socialist revolution will be to initiate the socialization of domestic labor, which will include quality housecleaning services, inexpensive good cafeterias, laundry facilities, and childcare centers.

While understanding that only the overthrow of the capitalist system will create the preconditions for the full liberation of women, the Revolutionary Workers League/Ligue Ouvriere Revolutionnaire (RWL/LOR) and the Fourth International assert the absolute necessity for the growth of the independent women's movement today.

Every important battle waged by women against their oppression contains the elements of a fight for the creation of *real* unity and democracy. And because of the depth of women's oppression the demands raised by the women's movement fundamentally challenge all social inequality and hierarchy, attacking the whole social fabric of daily life. This movement is an indispensable component of the forces that will bring down the old society and construct the new on solid foundations.

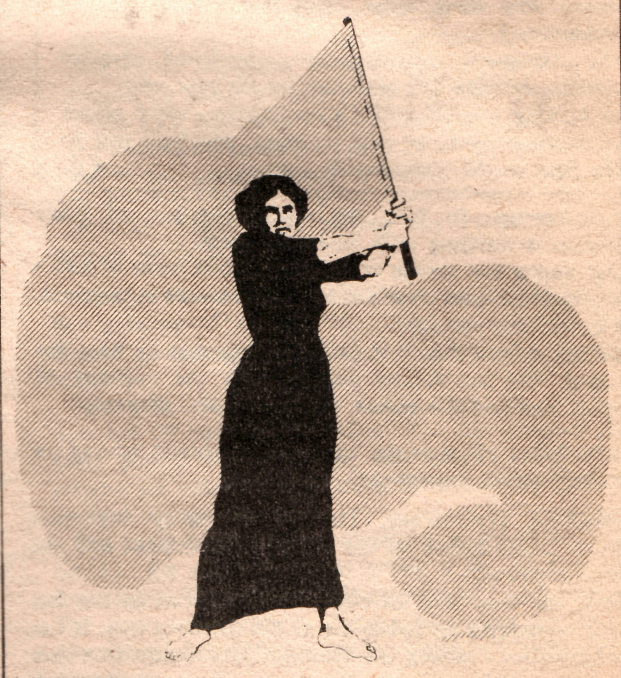
Decrepit capitalism has long been the central obstacle to our liberation. Imperialism can promise the world's people only further misery. But history has shown that it will not disappear simply because it is an anarchic and obsolete social system. A fundamental task of all those struggling to create a new social order is to construct a mass international revolutionary party—a party capable of animating and leading the workers movement, the women's movement, and all the oppressed in a coordinated assault on the patriarchal profit system that oppresses millions and distorts all human relations.

The political program of the RWL/LOR and the Fourth International is one of the basic tools of the revolutionary movement and it expresses a way forward for all working movement in the struggle against capitalism. Our program people in the struggle against capitalism. Our program points to the issues around which women can begin to struggle to loosen the bonds of oppression and challenge the prerogatives of the ruling class. It recognizes and provides answers for all aspects of women's oppression—legal, economic, social, and sexual.

For us the rejuvenation of the women's movement is an integral part of a new rise of world revolution—a rise that gives us optimism about the ability of working people of the world to triumph over capitalism.

The RWL/LOR and the Fourth International are working for the socialist future at a time when the outlines of that future are more and more visible. Join us.

WOMEN'S LIBERATION & SOCIALISM



120 pages $1.95

The articles in this pamphlet are part of a preparatory discussion for the next world congress of the Fourth International. They represent an important development in the position of revolutionary Marxists on the struggle for the liberation of women.

Available from: **Pathfinder Press**, 25 Bulwer Street, Toronto, Ontario M5T 1A1.

In January 1970, women protested the Miss Canadian University pageant. Contestant Janiel Jolley summed up women's subordination.

Campus women under attack

By Linda Blanchet

Even the minimal gains won by women over the last decade are being undermined as the economic crisis deepens. And as university administrations try to cut costs, women on the campuses face a deteriorating situation.

Under the pressure of the feminist movement, many university administrations made at least token gestures toward providing equal access and services for women. Women's studies courses appeared on campuses throughout Canada. Now, these limited achievements are threatened.

The Ontario government announced February 20 that next year's grants to universities and colleges will increase only 5.8 percent—a figure well below the current inflation rate.

Staff and services will be slashed as a result. At York university, where budget cutbacks of $4 million are projected, women will be among the hardest hit.

Far from being the progressive institutions they claim to be, universities uphold and perpetuate this society's oppression of women.

High tuition fees and living costs prevent many working-class high school students—particularly women—from entering university. A 1973 study of Ontario students, *Does Money Matter?*, found that "about one-third of all 'lower-class' girls (and they constitute about one half of the female student population) considered the expense of a university education an important reason for not going."

In most families, if finances make it necessary to choose between further education for a girl or a boy, the boy is given preference.

If a woman resists these adverse pressures and decides she wants to go to university, she still faces big obstacles. The student-aid program is one of them.

Under the proposed Ontario Study Grant Plan, the eight-term grant eligibility period cuts off all students in graduate and professional programs—areas where female enrollment is already dismally low. By forcing almost total reliance on loans, the plan creates an additional deterrent for women. When they leave university women can expect to earn only half, on the average, of what their male counterparts earn.

Economic discrimination against women students in post-secondary education is only part of the grim story.

The whole educational system is designed to socialize women into accepting their role as second-class citizens, as badly paid and exploited workers, and as domestic slaves.

Children in primary schools are presented with textbooks depicting women as dependent, passive creatures. In the high schools women are taught home economics and directed into traditional female job ghettos such as nursing, teaching, and secretarial work. At the universities women are concentrated in the arts, education, nursing, and home economics.

As in the rest of society, the universities and colleges are run almost exclusively by men and are permeated with sexist policies and attitudes.

Women comprise only 13.6 percent of the faculty at the University of Manitoba, and similar figures exist for campuses across the country. Women academics receive lower salaries than their male colleagues and occupy the lowest rungs of the academic ladder.

At York University, for example, while women occupy 18 percent of the full-time academic positions, 40 percent of the part-time faculty members are women.

Women in the non-academic staff don't fare any better, since the traditional practice of segregating women into lower-paid job classifications continues.

These inequities, already serious, will become even worse as the university budgets are trimmed.

Three quarters of York's part-time faculty may be fired. Many women's studies courses will be cancelled despite their continued popularity and high enrollment.

Services of interest to women at York are also threatened. The Harbinger collective, which provides information and peer counseling about birth control, sexuality, and unplanned pregnancy, will receive no funding from the administration next year.

The Counseling and Development Center may shut down its Women's Workshop because of a 23 percent budget cut.

Breakthrough, York's feminist magazine, has been denied administration funding and is in severe financial crisis.

These attacks must not go unchallenged. Large numbers of women are coming together across the country to discuss plans for International Women's Day activities. University women must use this opportunity to join with their off-campus sisters in the fight against women's oppression.

The International Women's Day Committee at York University plans to hold a rally on March 8 addressing the situation of women at York and in society generally. It is advancing such demands as:

- increased funding for women's services on campus;
- no tuition increases;
- no cuts in student loans;
- defense of women faculty;
- no layoffs of women staff.

Women from York University will undoubtedly play a big part in Ontario's International Women's Day protests and celebrations.

During the years ahead, student women will have a major responsibility in fighting women's oppression in the education system and in society as a whole.

Successful YS campaign

By Greg Pickering

EDMONTON — The Young Socialists (YS), recently ran their most successful election campaign ever at the University of Alberta. YS presidential candidate Kathy Roczkowskyj received close to 1,000 votes—roughly 17 percent of the total.

The highlight of the campaign was the February 8 election forum where members of each slate spoke to 800 students.

Roczkowskyj delivered a stirring address on the historical inadequacy of lobbying as a strategy. She stressed the need for mass action against tuition increases and cutbacks.

"A thunderous round of applause followed," noted a front-page article in the student newspaper, the *Gateway*. "Roczkowskyj's speech was the only real outstanding point of the forum," it continued.

YS candidate Nick Cooke was also well received when he spoke on the need for the student council to provide political direction in order to lead students to fight for their needs.

But the meeting was marred by a disgraceful show of anti-Quebecois chauvinism. Constance Beaulieu, an independent running on the YS slate, received an almost hysterically hostile response when she defended Quebec's right to self-determination.

YS candidates spoke to dozens of classes, residences, and other meetings. Over 4,000 copies of the YS program were distributed. A growing number of students expressed an interest in considering the socialist ideas raised by the YS.

NDP youth meet in Manitoba

By Kerry Knudson and Barry Weisleder

BRANDON—Sixty delegates and 10 observers attended the annual convention of the Manitoba Young New Democrats (MYND) here January 21-22.

The MYND is the product of the provincial party's decision two years ago to relaunch a youth organization.

Most participants in the convention were young university and high-school students. Most were new to politics. The two days of discussion took place in an open non-sectarian atmosphere.

The theme of the convention was the need to fight for jobs and against cutbacks and layoffs.

The MYND also rejected a resolution calling for "industrial democracy" — co-management schemes involving workers and bosses at the plant level.

Delegates called for the censure of the Manitoba Government Employees Association for permitting its president to participate in a Conservative government committee set up to plan elimination of jobs and public services.

Former Waffle leader Jim Laxer gave the keynote speech, calling for repatriation of the economy. But he made no analysis of the world economic situation, and did not even refer to Quebec's national rights.

The MYND called for a halt to RCMP political harassment and the release of RCMP political files. It turned aside a call for a return to a more standardized curriculum in the school system.

And it joined in the call for cross-country activities to make International Women's Day, pledging to work with others to build this day of struggle for women's rights.

Greetings were heard from the Young Communist League, the Saskatchewan Young New Democrats, and the Revolutionary Workers League.

The RWL met with a friendly reception. It received permission to set up a Red Books literature table, whose sales were more than $85, and its greetings to the convention were warmly applauded.

Stop cutbacks

By Harold Lavender

TORONTO — Students and campus unions are mobilizing together against the cutbacks in education. A demonstration will be held at Queen's Park on March 16 at 2 p.m.

The demonstration was called by the Toronto Area Cutbacks Committee—a loose coalition of students, staff, and faculty from York, Ryerson, and the University of Toronto.

The proposed action is a response to the miserly $41 million increase in university funding announced by the Conservative government. That's less than the $67 million increase needed just to maintain essential services at the universities. University officials have admitted that cutbacks in staff and student services will follow. The quality of education will decline.

Anger against the cutbacks has reached the boiling point on some campuses. Between 800 to 900 attended a militant rally at York University on February 9. The rally was organized by the York No-Cutbacks Committee, which has joined with other local committees in initiating the Metro Toronto-wide coalition.

The Ontario Federation of Students (OFS) executive, which represents over 160,000 university and college students, has endorsed the action. The last province-wide student demonstration in January 1976 attracted over 2,000.

The OFS leadership is responding to pressure for real action against the cuts and the Tories' new student-aid plan, which restricts accessibility to higher education.

The labor movement and all those affected by government cutbacks have an interest in coming behind the March 16 action.

WORLD OUTLOOK

1,700 in London commemorate Bloody Sunday

Build the International Tribunal! That was the message of the speeches at the rally held on Sunday January 29 to commemorate the deaths of the 14 demonstrators killed in Derry by British troops on Bloody Sunday, 1972.

The rally in Hammersmith followed a demonstration of 1,200 organized by the Bloody Sunday Commemoration Demonstration Committee. In another London demonstration, organized by the Provisional Sinn Fein, over 500 people marched.

The International Tribunal, whose purpose is to investigate British presence in Ireland, was launched at a press conference the previous week.

Appealing for support for the initiative at the press conference were: Joan Maynard, MP; Phil Flynn, deputy general secretary of the Irish Local Government and Public Service Union; Lord Gifford, a lawyer and prominent champion of civil liberties; and officers from the Tribunal planning committee.

The officers explained that the inquiry will concentrate on:

- the role and activities of the British security forces in Northern Ireland —the Royal Ulster Constabulary and the Ulster Defense Regiment;
- allegations of torture at interrogation centers, and allegations of abuse and assault on Irish prisoners in British jails;
- the operation of no-jury courts in N. Ireland;
- charges of discrimination in many fields, levelled at the N. Ireland authorities.

Because of the important role that international public opinion can play in monitoring any infringements of human rights in the North of Ireland the "jury" will be joined by a panel of figures of international repute.

5,000 rally against police spying in Australia

More than 5,000 people attended an enthusiastic rally in Adelaide called by the South Australian Labor Party and the South Australia Trades and Labor Council in support of Premier Don Dunstan's firing of the state police commissioner, Harold Salisbury.

Called on only three days notice, the rally's size and spirit showed the depth of opposition to the state Special Branch's spying activity directed against the labor movement.

A reference to the position of migrant workers, who face the threat of denial of citizenship and possible deportation as a result of Special Branch surveillance of legal political or union activity, was warmly received.

The rally dealt a blow to the distortions in the press, which sought to concentrate attention on the "victimized" Salisbury and gave lavish coverage to the right-wing rallies in support of the former police commissioner.

Founders of independent trade union arrested by Soviet political police

Five Soviet workers who had announced the formation of an independent trade union in the USSR were arrested February 7 in Moscow.

They had made public the formation of the Trade Union in Defense of Workers at a press conference with foreign correspondents in Moscow January 26, stating that the new union already had 200 members.

This was the third press conference dissenting workers have held since December 1, 1977, to protest persecution of workers who expose corruption and unsafe working conditions.

Among those arrested was Vladimir Klebanov, a coal miner who had been confined for four and a half years in a psychiatric hospital-prison for protesting the unsafe working conditions in his mine.

At the January 26 press conference, Klebanov said he hoped George Meany, president of the American trade-union federation, the AFL-CIO, would extend moral support to the new union. He said that the new union would apply to the International Labor Organization in Geneva for recognition.

One spokesman for the new union, Nikolai Ivanov, said he believed the five who were arrested would be sent back to their home cities.

The workers who organized the press conference came from a number of different cities throughout the USSR. They met when they came to Moscow to seek redress of their grievances from the highest party and government bodies.

Nancy Cole/Militant

Three thousand coal miners rally in Fairmont, West Virginia denounce coal bosses' contract terms and Carter's strikebreaking.

U.S. miners fight coal barons, gov't.

By Alan Russet

The courageous strike by 160,000 coal miners in the United States has become the biggest test of strength in three decades between the organized working class and the giant corporations.

By rejecting the mineowners' slave-labor contract, the ranks of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), have given a glimpse of the power of the working class. After all the bluster, threats, "deadlines," and "options" by the companies and Carter, it has become glaringly obvious that "you can't mine coal with bayonets."

By threatening the miners with a Taft-Hartley injunction, under which they could be ordered back to work for 80 days, and with compulsory arbitration, and government seizure of the mines, the Carter administration has made the strike the foremost political issue in the country.

The coal bosses and their political agents have tried to divide working people and turn public sentiment against the miners, blaming them for the hardships caused by alleged power shortages.

But, despite this ruling-class campaign, the miners' strike has sparked significant labor solidarity. In city after city, union locals are organizing strike-support activity. Support rallies have been held across the country—1,200 in Pittsburgh, 400 in Detroit, and 250 in Morgantown, West Virginia. And more are being planned.

Strike not settled until ranks vote

On February 24, Carter announced a tentative settlement between coal operators and the union. A special commission will be appointed to look into the "basic questions of health, safety, and stable productivity" in the coal mines.

Holding a shot gun to the heads of the miners, Carter threatened: "I hope you will follow the lead of your bargaining council and ratify the settlement. . . . If it is not approved, I will have to take the drastic actions I was prepared to take tonight."

But, the strike is not over. The miners must approve the contract. And it is by no means clear that the majority of miners will accept the new offer. "Unless I'm fooled, the membership will never accept that rag," western Kentucky strip miner Lee Patterson said of the new pact.

Earlier, when UMWA president Arnold Miller caved in and accepted a sell-out contract, the rank and file openly revolted. On February 13 the bargaining committee rejected the deal 30 to 6 rather than submit it to the membership for a vote.

In response to the miners' determined resistance, the Carter administration stepped up both its threats against the workers and its efforts to whip up a panic atmosphere to enlist public support to force the miners back to work. In addition to the power cuts in several states, auto and steel corporations are threatening mass layoffs—750,000 in Ohio alone.

But, America's rulers remain fearful of direct federal strikebreaking. "The major problem with the Taft-Hartley is nobody will obey," a labor department official told the *Wall Street Journal.*

UMWA's class-struggle traditions

UMWA has a tradition of class struggle. Three times they defied the Taft-Hartley Act in confrontations with the Truman administration in the late 1940s. These experiences are embedded in the miners' consciousness.

The miners have now been on strike for almost three months without strike pay. In order to win full restoration of health benefits (which were cut off in July 1977) and the right to strike for safe conditions, the miners have fought hard. Tactics such as flying pickets have substantially cut the supply of non-union coal.

The companies are refusing to concede the right to strike against unsafe working conditions. Their earlier deal with Miller included a "labor stability" agreement to ban wildcat strikes with $20-per-day fines and 30-day suspensions for miners who honor unauthorized picket lines. Strike leaders would be fired automatically.

Experience has shown it's not so easy to get such a contract ratified in the UMWA. Meetings of local union officials in district after district repudiated the settlement. Hundreds of miners boarded buses to demonstrate at national union headquarters on February 10.

In 1972 Miller led the Miners for Democracy which threw out the corrupt union leadership of Tony Boyle. The coal miners, unlike their brothers and sisters in steel and rail won the right to vote on contracts. Union democracy is a very powerful weapon in the hands of workers determined to control their own union.

This explains the ferocity of the bosses' attacks against the miners. And fossilized labor bureaucrats like AFL-CIO president George Meany agree. Meany has said that if he were president of the United States, he would seize the coal mines and "lay down conditions the miners would accept."

Socialists help build support

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in the United States has recognized the challenge and the opportunity for revolutionary socialists posed by the miners strike. In a statement by the SWP's Political Committee published in the March 3 weekly the *Militant*, the party's top priorities are outlined:

- "To expose the lies and divisive tactics of the energy corporations,
- To help mobilize the broadest possible support for the miners, and
- To draw the lessons of this battle for all working people."

The SWP will strive to see that the *Militant*—which tells the miners' side of the story—is circulated everywhere. SWP candidates from coast to coast will speak out in defense of the miners, explaining the antiunion plot of the energy profiteers. And socialist activists in the unions and on the campuses are helping to organize many different types of strike support activities.

News of the coal strike—particularly that sympathetic to the miners—has been scarce in Canada. Canadian workers can learn some valuable lessons from this heroic strike. Militants in the labor movement here should begin to build support for the coal miners.

Union of the Left comes apart

The following article has been adapted from an article by Jean-Claude Bernard which appeared in the January 30 issue of Intercontinental Press/Inprecor.

PARIS—The campaign for the legislative elections on March 12 and 19 is under way.

The parties of the right are in a state of "holy disunion." The Gaullists of the Rally for the Republic (RPR), led by Jacques Chirac, have broken the agreement that bound them to their partners in Valery Giscard d'Estaing's "presidential majority," and are reasserting their right to run candidates where they see fit.

The Union of the Left, the alliance of the Socialist and Communist parties, formed in 1972 by signing the Common Program, has broken up. From last year's fierce competition around updating the program, the situation has developed into an open split.

The Socialist Party (SP) has published its own version of the Common Program for the legislative elections. The Communist Party (CP) is getting ready to do the same. At its January 7-8 national conference the CP decided to take no position at present on the question of withdrawal in favor of SP candidates on the second round of the elections.

The conflict between the CP and SP has become the major concern of the working class—which has been promised a change by its organizations, through an electoral victory for the Common Program signed by the SP, CP, and Left Radicals.

By signing the Common Program in 1972, the SP executed a political turn, breaking with its tactic of the past 25 years. In signing a class-collaborationist agreement that might involve CP participation in the government, the SP aimed to recover in a period of working-class upsurge, territory previously lost to the CP. Over the last five years, this goal has largely been attained.

In 1978 the SP surpassed the CP in voting strength. Furthermore, the SP has begun to establish a new foothold in the unions by winning most of the apparatus of the French Democratic Confederation of Labor (CFDT)—the second largest trade-union federation.

To carry out its policy of class collaboration while continuing to make gains, the SP must simultaneously maintain its alliance with the CP and go on making deals with the bourgeoisie. That is why the Social Democrats have avoided any direct confrontation with Giscard, preferring instead to plead with him to keep up a neutral role in the elections, thereby retaining possibilities for collaboration in case they do come to power.

That is also why the SP clings to the small bourgeois party called the Movement of Left Radicals. The SP negotiated an agreement with this bourgeois party for dividing up electoral districts. The Left Radicals will be given 30 secure seats—an overrepresentation in the National Assembly which will put them in a position to swing parliamentary votes.

Failure of the CP's tactics

Six years after signing the Common Program, the CP leadership faces a heavy reckoning.

In the electoral arena the CP has yielded first place to the SP. The CP's hold over working-class struggles has also been damaged. Since 1968, its former monopoly over the working class has been thrown open to challenge. It cannot prevent the revolutionary far left from sinking more and more roots among the workers, as the growth of class-struggle opposition in the trade unions testifies. But, neither has the CP been able to obstruct the steady growth of the SP-led CFDT whose membership has increased by nearly 50 percent since 1968 while that of the CP-dominated General Confederation of Labor (CGT) has remained static.

The CP has therefore decided to change a tactical course that has resulted in the rebuilding of the SP to its own detriment. At the January 1978 conference CP General Secretary Georges Marchais outlined what was at stake in the March elections:

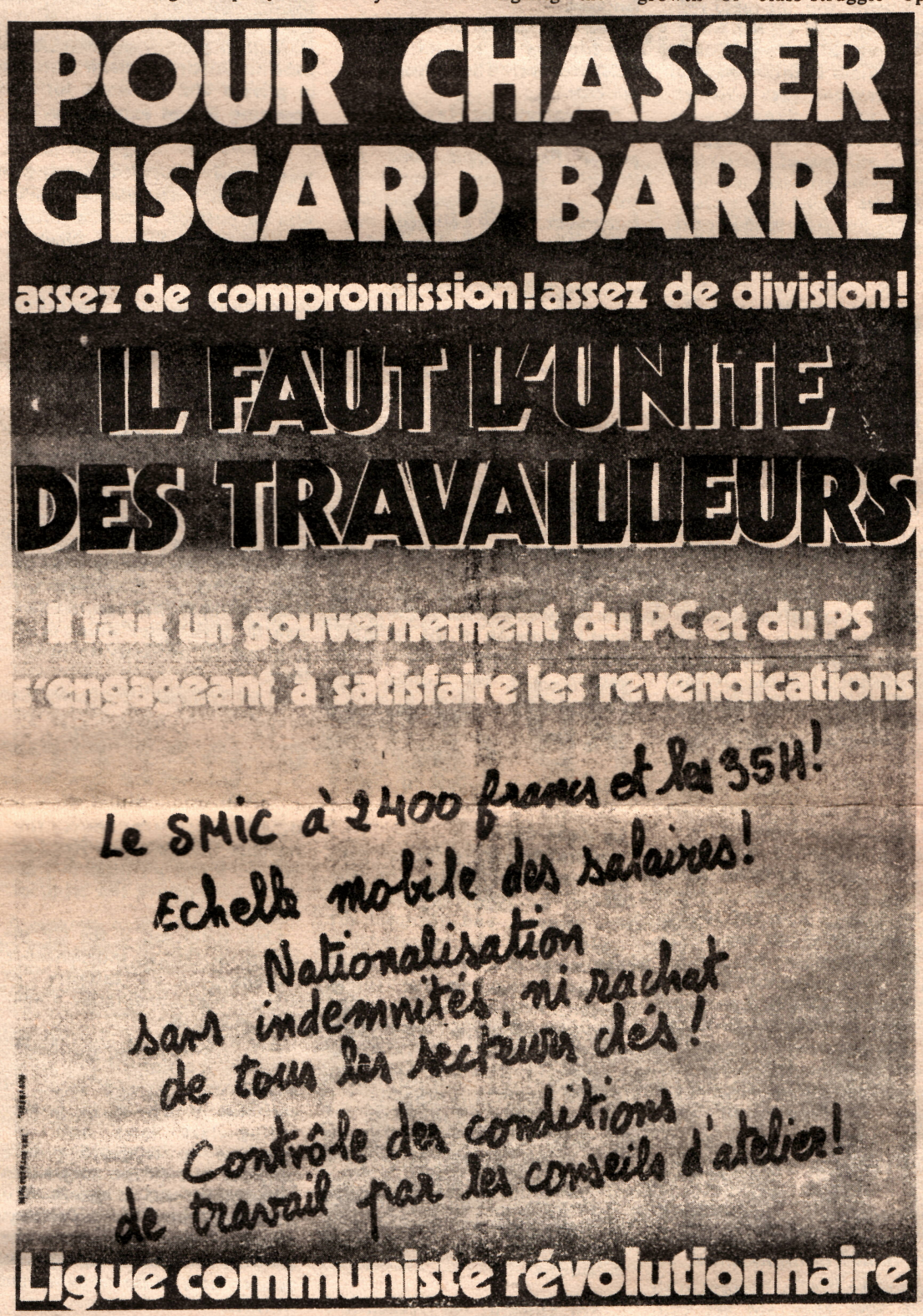
"The choice before the French people is clear. Either, on the evening of March 12 (the first round of the election), the Communist Party will not command enough support, and then no matter who governs the country, a change cannot be brought about—it will be put off until later. Or the Communist Party will wield enough influence to act and a change can be imposed. . . . To try to settle the question of the second round before the first, would be to abandon the struggle for an agreement on a good program. . . ."

Under France's two-round election procedure, an absolute majority is needed to be elected on the first round; only a plurality is required on the second round. Beating the bourgeois candidates thus requires that the workers party candidates stand down in favor of whomever comes in first—especially since all the ruling parties have announced their decision to stand down for each other. The CP is threatening to leave the Giscard-Barre government in power.

The CP and SP have equal responsibility for the split that has taken place. Although the campaign for the legislative elections is under way in a period of worldwide capitalist crisis with austerity for the working class, the CP and SP, who are supported by a majority of the population, are approaching it without proposing any struggle whatsoever for socialism.

The SP and CP must unite to form a government, which the workers will urge to break with the bourgeoisie and meet their needs.

An electoral victory for the discredited governmental coalition has gone from being unlikely to being possible. It will remain possible as long as the SP and CP fail to unite.


POUR CHASSER GISCARD BARRE
assez de compromission! assez de division!
IL FAUT L'UNITE DES TRAVAILLEURS
Il faut un gouvernement du PC et du PS
s'engageant à satisfaire les revendications
Le SMIC à 2400 francs et les 35H!
Echelle mobile des salaires!
Nationalisation sans indemnités, ni rachat de tous les secteurs clés!
Contrôle des conditions de travail par les conseils d'atelier!
Ligue communiste révolutionnaire

LCR runs in French elections

The Revolutionary Communist League (LCR—French section of the Fourth International) is participating in the March 1978 legislative elections by carrying out a mass-action campaign for workers unity, in order to wrest satisfaction of workers' demands and unseat the Giscard-Barre government.

The political context is such that concrete actions are possible around the unified demands of the working class. It is possible to organize mobilizations against austerity and for a sliding scale of wages, for shortening the work week to 35 hours, and for adopting the principle of equal work, equal pay.

To counter the economic crisis, the Communist Party (CP) and the Socialist Party (SP) are proposing the nationalization of nine corporate trusts (leaving 85 percent of industry in the bosses' hands!). The LCR, however, demands the nationalization of all the key sectors of the economy, without compensation or repurchase by the state and under workers control.

The LCR is addressing itself to the majority of the working class, which has confidence in the CP or SP. It is doing so by calling for an SP-CP government, not in order to implement a class-collaborationist program, but to meet workers' demands and to break with the bourgeoisie, its parties, and its institutions.

The LCR demands that the big workers parties, the CP and SP, break with the Left Radicals and Giscard in order to fight for the demands of workers. Only a government of workers, a socialist government, offers a long run solution to the crisis of capitalism.

Throughout the campaign, the LCR will publicize its decision to call for a vote on the second round for the workers candidate who comes in first, explaining why it is necessary that not a single vote go to bourgeois candidates, including the Left Radicals. As part of this, the LCR candidates will demand that the CP and SP pledge themselves to adhere to the principle of standing down in favor of the workers candidate who comes in first.

The LCR is also campaigning against France's role in imperialism's "holy alliance" against Africa. For several months now—for the first time since the Algerian war—French troops have been intervening against the Polisario Front and against the self-determination struggle of the Saharan people.

A political agreement for dividing up the election districts has been reached between the LCR, the Communist Workers Organization (OCT), and the Communist Committees for Self-Management (CCA).

This agreement reaffirms the need for workers unity around their demands, and calls for a vote on the second round for the candidate of the reformist parties who comes in first. The OCT includes a call for a vote for the Left Radicals. The text of the platform refers to the main disagreements leading on the concrete implementation of a policy of workers united front. Under the designation "For socialism, for power to the workers," more than 200 candidates will run.

Each organization is running its own candidates, who will campaign on the program of their organization. For its part, the LCR will run about 150 candidates, men and women, a great majority of whom are blue- and white-collar workers. They will become the best defenders of workers unity, in a campaign in which the candidates advanced or supported by the LCR will be the only ones proclaiming that the time has come for socialism, for an end to austerity and unemployment.

As part of its campaign, the LCR plans to organize meetings around its platform in many cities throughout France. The LCR will also be building support committees for its candidates. As well, the LCR plans to increase the number of pages in *Rouge*—its daily newspaper—to 16 and increase its press run during the campaign.

Behind the RCMP's 'spies' affair

By Richard Fidler

Faced with increasing criticism of the illegal and undemocratic activities of its Security Service, the RCMP has launched a counteroffensive.

On February 9 the federal government announced it was expelling 11 Soviet diplomats for attempting to get an unidentified RCMP officer to spy for them.

Ottawa has expelled alleged spies before, without publicity. But this time the Trudeau government turned the incident into a media extravaganza, complete with diagrams and photos of the sophisticated technology employed—hollowed-out cigarette packages and empty Coke cans.

The result was predictable. MPs of all parties rushed to congratulate the RCMP. NDP leader Ed Broadbent was in the forefront: "On behalf of my colleagues, I extend my appreciation to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police for their good work in security matters."

Predictably, too, the rabid red-hunters came out of the woodwork. Tory MP Tom Cossitt drew headlines in following days with charges that Soviet, Cuban—and French!—intelligence networks are smuggling arms and millions of dollars into Quebec to aid terrorist activities. Cossitt later named the conduits: several Canadian-based companies specializing in Soviet trade, as well as . . . Air France and Renault.

More work for the Security Service!

The suggestion that French companies are bankrolling Quebec "terrorists" is utter nonsense, of course. Only depraved francophobes could credit such fantasies.

Just as absurd is the allegation that Moscow encourages Quebec independence. The opposite is the case.

For example, the May 10, 1977 issue of *Pravda*, the Soviet Communist Party organ, said all Quebec's problems "should be solved within the Pan-Canadian framework," and alleged that "separatist tendencies" in Quebec were the work of "U.S. monopolies." Of course that's also the position of the Canadian CP, a bitter foe of Quebec nationalism.

The Quebec independence movement is not foreign-inspired. It is rooted in Quebec's national oppression, whose main sources are the Canadian state and the government in Ottawa.

External Affairs Minister Don Jamieson, a broadcasting magnate in private life, performs for the media at news conference announcing Soviet expulsions.

Who threatens security?

The "Soviet spies" affair serves as a reminder that Canada's ruling class doesn't hesitate to whip up Cold War sentiment when it suits its purpose. And the purpose in this case is patently clear: to try to rehabilitate the image of the RCMP Security Service. If "Soviet spies" didn't exist, it would be necessary to invent them.

Of the 1,900 RCMP agents said to be assigned to the Security Service, only 400 are assigned to "counter-espionage," the *Globe and Mail* reported February 10. The remaining 1,500 are engaged in surveillance, harassment, and disruption of the legal, democratic activities of organizations and individuals in Canada whose only "crime," in government eyes, is to oppose the social and constitutional status quo.

It's the Security Service that threatens the security of working people in Canada, not a handful of Kremlin agents.

Canadians who want to defend democratic liberties should refuse to be taken in by Ottawa's attempt to portray Moscow as the threat to our rights. They should press forward in exposing the real threat—the undemocratic activities of the RCMP, Canada's political police.

History repeats itself...

By Richard Fidler

The February 9 expulsions are not the first time Ottawa has attempted to use a Soviet spy scare to stir up support for its political police.

The model for this kind of campaign was established shortly after World War II, in the widely-publicized Gouzenko affair. Leaders of the Labor Progressive Party (as the Communist Party was then called) were charged with siphoning state secrets to Soviet agents.

The government never proved that information of significant military value was passed to the Soviet Union. But the trials were used to deprive the CP of its one Member of Parliament and to jail top leaders of the party. The Gouzenko affair helped pave the way for the postwar anticommunist witch-hunt in Canada, and was used internationally to whip up Cold War hysteria. It was also used to stampede support for Canada's entry into NATO.

But what about Soviet spying? In our view, the Soviet Union has good reason to maintain a foreign intelligence operation. Revolutionary socialists defend the right of the workers states to defend themselves by whatever means necessary against the imperialist powers such as Canada and the United States.

Former Prime Minister Mackenzie King's 1947 diaries, recently made public, reveal that while Ottawa was jailing CP leaders as spies, Winston Churchill was telling King the Americans were prepared to use the atomic bomb in their dispute with Moscow over access to Berlin.

In self-defense against such monstrous adversaries, the Soviet Union must necessarily employ effective military means, including covert activity.

The activities of Soviet intelligence agents are by no means confined to the military defense of the Soviet Union, of course. The Kremlin's agents around the world implement its foreign policy, which is one of "peaceful coexistence." That is, a policy of betraying anticapitalist forces and opting instead for deals with imperialism, sabotaging the best possible defense of the Soviet Union—the replacement of capitalism by socialism on a world scale.

Jamieson and Trudeau certainly don't object to Moscow's counterrevolutionary role. Nor have they demonstrated in any way that the alleged spies in the Ottawa embassy were harming the interests of Canadian workers.

Their concern in crying "spy" is to drum up excuses for the continued existence of the RCMP's discredited Security Service—a weapon they use against the working class.

CP favors political police

By Katie Curtin

MONTREAL — Recent revelations have shown how the RCMP has continuously spied on, harassed, and disrupted the trade unions, the independence movement in Quebec, and other groups struggling for social change. Revolutionary socialists are opposed to the existence of the RCMP. They demand the opening of all RCMP files, an end to harassment, and so on.

The Communist Party of Canada (CP) has a different approach. It proposes to reform the RCMP by placing it under the control of Parliament. It remains strangely silent on the question of opening the files on political dissidents.

For example, the December 9 issue of *Combat*, the French-language paper reflecting the CP's viewpoint, tells us in an article analyzing the crimes of the RCMP that, "It is urgent that the RCMP be placed under effective democratic control . . . under the control of Parliament, of the elected representatives."

Moreover, the CP argues that the RCMP itself can play a progressive role. This could be accomplished by changing the definition of security produced by the cold-war mentality to a definition that recognizes "the true enemies" of national security.

The October 14 *Combat* states: "In the opinion of the Communist Party of Canada, the threat to the security of Canada comes from those who support foreign aggression and violence against the people of Canada. Such violence can take many different forms including racism, genocide, antisemitism, and fascism.

"These forces, together with those who spearhead the American takeover of Canada and also undermine Canadian independence, are those that threaten Canada's security. They are the forces we need to place under surveillance and bring under control."

One could ask if the CP includes the Quebec independence movement in the category "of forces [who] undermine Canadian independence"?

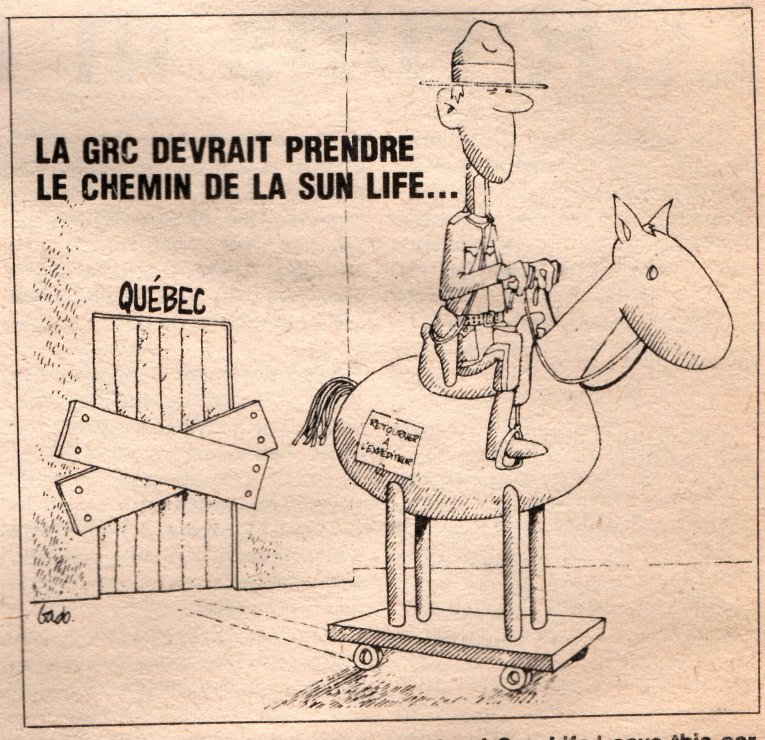
The CP fails to see that the essential function of the police and national security forces in capitalist society is to protect ruling-class laws and institutions—to safeguard private property and all the inequalities inherent in such a system. "To serve and protect" in this context means to serve and protect the minority interests of big business against those of the majority: the workers.

The mistaken position of the CP on the RCMP isn't simply an aberration. On the contrary, it flows from its support of the Soviet bureaucracy, which sees the Canadian imperialist state as a potential ally. It corresponds to the CP's conception that the most important struggle today is for a democratic Canada, and that socialism will come at some subsequent stage.

No doubt the CP hesitates to challenge the concept of national security precisely because the same arguments are used to imprison political dissidents in the USSR and Eastern Europe.

The CP's position on the RCMP serves solely to create dangerous illusions about the nature of the RCMP and consequently misdirects the struggle against the government's repressive forces.

—translated from Lutte Ouvriere



'The RCMP should follow the example of Sun Life,' says this cartoon from 'Le Monde Ouvrier,' journal of the Quebec Federation of Labor.

Last chance to help

The last copy for this issue is being written as the month of February ends. This is the deadline for contributions to the special *Socialist Voice* sustaining fund, to which we have asked readers to contribute all or part of their January-February tax rebate.

Supporters of the paper are busy winding up the drive, asking other readers for contributions before their March income drops sharply due to higher taxes.

We make this final appeal to all those who have not yet contributed, to help us continue producing the *Voice*.

The next issue will report how much money we have raised, and from where.

How you can help the 'Voice'

Trudeau is cutting the taxes of most workers by $100 during January and February—he says this tax rebate will help cure the country's economic problems.

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Upheaval in the Horn of Africa

By Alan Russet

The world's hottest war is raging in the Horn of Africa. Ethiopia has mounted an offensive to reconquer the Ogaden Desert from forces of the Western Somali Liberation Front (WSLF). It also is threatening to reconquer Eritrea.

This offensive is a tragedy. It is being waged against the right of the Somali and Eritrean people to self-determination.

The war now threatens to provide a pretext for U.S. imperialist intervention, aimed at quelling *all* the revolutionary struggles in the Horn of Africa.

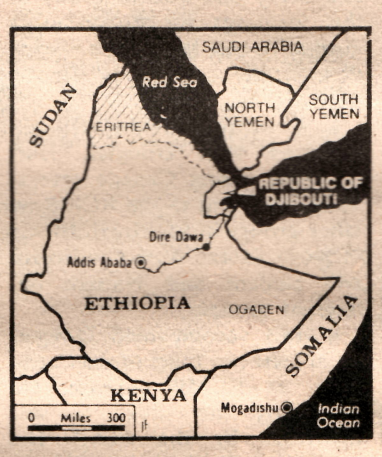
The Soviet Union, once allied with Somalia, now backs Ethiopia's "socialist" military rulers. Israel also backs Ethiopia. The United States, which propped up the rule of Ethiopian emperor Haile Selassie with $275 million in military assitance, now threatens possible intervention against Ethiopia because of the allegedly massive Soviet and Cuban presence.

Searching for a pretext, President Carter warned on February 20 that the U.S. has "let Ethiopia know we would consider it a very serious breach of peace, endangering even worldwide peace, if they should cross the Somali border in their counter-attack."

The background to this war in the Horn of Africa is complex. In February 1974 the Ethiopian peasants and workers rose up in a powerful upsurge that ultimately led to the overthrow of the feudal despot Haile Selassie. The final blow was delivered by junior military officers. A new council of military officers, the Dergue, took power.

This revolutionary process put pressure on the new regime. The Dergue claims to be Marxist. But it is waging war against the oppressed nationalities in Ethiopia. In addition, bloody purges and massacres of opponents are carried out by the dictatorial regime of Lt. Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam.

The Dergue has tried to control the masses by instituting reforms from the top down.



Banks, credit institutions, and some imperialist and local enterprises were nationalized in 1975. An agrarian reform program was also announced.

However, the radical land reform has only been partially completed. And the nationalizations remain within the framework of a capitalist state apparatus. The Dergue opposes any mobilization of the masses that might challenge existing social relations or lead to a complete break with imperialism.

In addition, the Dergue has a completely reactionary position on the national question. It is fighting to maintain Ethiopia's artificial boundaries created by the colonial powers.

Eritrea has been a part of Ethiopia since being forcibly annexed by a United Nations decree in the early 1950s. The Eritreans have made large strides in their struggle for independence since the new junta came to power. Liberation forces control about 85 percent of the territory, which includes all but 300,000 of Eritrea's 3.5 million people.

The Somalis living in the Ogaden desert also revived their struggle. With the aid of the Somali regime, they have swept the Ethiopian forces from the Ogaden desert.

Moscow's support to the Dergue's reactionary war is another indication of a foreign policy based on narrow bureaucratic self-interest. Cuba has denied that its troops are directly involved, but its hailing of the "true revolutionary" Mengistu is a sad comment on the direction of Cuba's foreign policy.

What is required instead is a firm defense of the interests of the Ethiopean workers and peasants and the national rights of the Eritrean, Somali, and other minority nationalities in Ethiopia.

in brief

Devlin forced to cancel tour

Eight scheduled appearances by Bernadette Devlin McAliskey across English Canada had to be cancelled only a day before she was scheduled to arrive in the country. Devlin McAliskey is the object of a vicious attack by a scurrilous British magazine called *Faces*. This attack—the worst of many to date—was so serious that she felt compelled to fly to London to organize her defense.

But, even without Devlin McAliskey, Toronto's Socialist Forum on "Ireland and Quebec" showed that internationalism is very much alive. In a trans-Atlantic phone conversation Devlin McAliskey expressed her concern that the meeting go ahead in order to confront the political issues she had intended to address—the defense of the Irish and Quebecois struggles.

Despite universal disappointment at Devlin McAliskey's absence, more than 250 people stayed for the forum sponsored by the Revolutionary Workers League and the Young Socialists.

Applause followed two talks on the Irish and Quebecois national struggles. On 24 hours notice, Gerry Foley—a writer for the weekly newsmagazine *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor* who specializes in coverage of the Irish struggle—was able to come from New York to speak on the eight-centuries-long Irish struggle against British imperialism. The second talk, drawing some of the many links between the Irish and Quebecois national struggles, was given by RWL leader Bret Smiley.

Parkland strikers found guilty

EDMONTON—Three members and two representatives of Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) Local 41 were found guilty of contempt of court and fined a total of $1,650 here February 16.

The contempt charge arose from the participation of 400 Alberta Federation of Labor convention delegates in a mass picket outside the Parkland Nursing Home on January 19 in defiance of an Alberta Supreme Court injunction restricting the number of pickets to six.

The Parkland Nursing Home workers have been on strike since March 1977. They are attempting to win their first contract against efforts to smash the union.

The convictions and fines are a serious matter for the union movement. However, it is evident that during the course of the trial the governments and courts felt compelled to back down somewhat in the face of widespread sympathy for the Parkland workers. Thirteen unionists originally charged with contempt were found not guilty. The fines were not as harsh as expected, and the judge refused to prohibit future picketing of the nursing home.

On February 23, 80 people attended a meeting in support of the Parkland strike, which was endorsed by the Edmonton Metro New Democratic Party, the Edmonton Women's Coalition, and various union locals. Participants agreed to propose to the Alberta Federation of Labor (AFL) that a public demonstration in support of the Parkland workers be organized.

—Don Wilson

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Philip S. Foner, ed.

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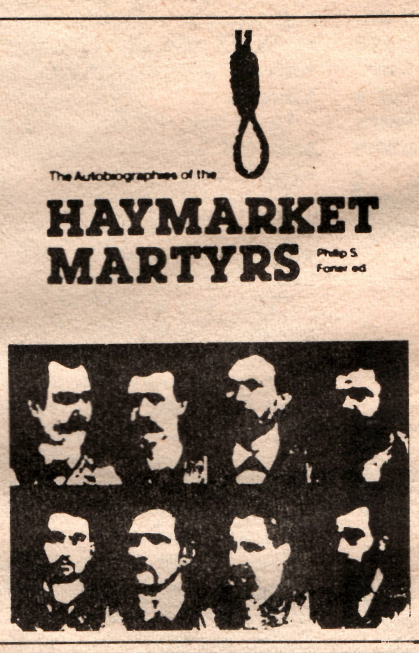

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Socialist Voice

RCMP-FBI double agent

Police agent squeals

By Richard Fidler

Blacks, Native people, and immigrants fighting government repression in Canada in the early 1970s faced an additional, unknown obstacle—a secret agent of the RCMP and FBI in their own ranks.

Warren Hart, a Black currently working for U.S. Navy intelligence near Washington, has told Tory MP Elmer MacKay and the *Toronto Sun* that between 1971 and 1975 he worked as a paid informer for the RCMP Security Service. The Mounties paid him $900 a month and expenses.

A former FBI agent in the Black Panthers, Hart says that during his four and a half years in Canada:

• He became personal bodyguard and confidant of Rosie Douglas, a Black militant from Dominica then fighting Ottawa's attempts to deport him from Canada. Using bugged apartments, body microphones, illegal mail openings, and even fancy cars equipped with mikes and tape recorders, Hart says his assignment was "to report on any and every one attending any of the meetings or contributing money" to Douglas's legal defense. Douglas was finally deported in 1976.

• Benefiting from his association with Douglas, Hart travelled across Canada several times reporting to the RCMP on labor groups in Montreal, Blacks in Nova Scotia, Native militants, and student and Haitian immigrant groups.

• Hart accompanied Douglas on at least two tours of the Caribbean, at RCMP expense. On returning, he says, "I was debriefed by the CIA." His reports on Black activists in the West Indies were also passed on to British Intelligence.

• Hart was present—and secretly taped the proceedings—during meetings Douglas had with the B.C. NDP legislative caucus, with NDP MP John Rodriguez—and even with then Solicitor General Warren Allmand, who was in charge of the RCMP. With respect to the latter incident, Hart indicates the political police mentality: "I was told to tape the conversation. . . . Most of the RCMP was under the impression Mr. Alman (sic) is a Communist."

Warren Hart with 'bugged' car Mounties provided him

'Captain Warren Hart' of the Black Panthers, left, with Panther officers Zeke Boyd and Charles Butler. Hart, then working for the FBI, says he later dispatched Boyd and Butler to Montreal to make contact with the FLQ.

Hart was more than an "informant" for the RCMP, as MacKay and the big-business press imply. He was a provocateur. As Gary Cristall reports in an article elsewhere on this page, Hart attempted to get Native militants to commit illegal or violent actions.

Cristall's testimony is confirmed by Toronto activists in the Rosie Douglas defense effort. They told *Socialist Voice* that Hart, as Douglas's "bodyguard," often argued—unsuccessfully—that marshals at Douglas's public meetings should be armed illegally with guns.

"We simply pointed out that that would give the cops a pretext to raid the meetings and arrest participants—including many non-citizens," said Liz Barkley, an executive member of the St. David's NDP riding association.

"Rosie always agreed with us, and that settled the matter," she added.

Hart's testimony provides a revealing insight into the nature of RCMP collaboration with the FBI, the CIA, and the British secret service.

And it leaves some unanswered questions.

• According to the *Toronto Sun* Hart, while working for the FBI, sent Black Panther members to Montreal "to work with the FLQ." The Mounties say they burned down a barn to prevent an FLQ-Black Panther meeting. Were they also setting up meetings between the two groups? And why—in order to frame both of them?

• Rodriguez, the New Democratic MP, says he was probably bugged by Hart at a meeting he attended in Toronto in 1975 to discuss defense of Blacks and immigrants against physical attacks by the ultraright Western Guard. A trial of Western Guard leaders in Toronto that just concluded heard testimony that an RCMP agent in the Guard participated in, and sometimes initiated these attacks.

• Above all, the evidence that the RCMP was obstructing and undermining Rosie Douglas's fight against deportation points to the need to reopen the Douglas case. Douglas should be allowed to return to Canada.

And the RCMP files should be opened—to reveal all the secret activities of Warren Hart, and of all the agents like him.

Portrait of a provocateur

VANCOUVER—"I was an eyewitness to attempts by Warren Hart, confessed RCMP spy, to get British Columbia Natives to use violent tactics," Revolutionary Workers League member Gary Cristall told the press here February 27.

"It was a classic case of an agent provocateur—a police spy attempting to direct the struggle of oppressed militants in a violent direction. Hart's aim was to provoke actions that the police could easily suppress, arresting or killing radical leaders and discrediting the movement."

Cristall is a former member of the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG), which was active with the League for Socialist Action (LSA) in the campaign to defend Rosie Douglas from deportation. (The RMG and LSA were among the organizations that fused last summer to form the RWL.)

Cristall said he had worked with Hart on several occasions. "Hart was known to us as Clay Heart, nicknamed 'The General.'

"I remember Douglas and Hart made a cross-country tour of Canada in the summer of 1975. Douglas wanted to meet Native militants. He hoped to promote an alliance between Natives and immigrants to fight racism and political repression.

"I helped Douglas set up some meetings when they were in Vancouver in August 1975.

"Hart drove a late-model Lincoln Continental, with licence plates from an eastern U.S. state. He tried to give me and others the impression the car was stolen. He said he had picked it up for several hundred dollars and could get anyone a similar deal. He hinted he had links with a Black Panther 'auto theft ring' and said even the car registration would check out as valid.

"Now we know why. The car was probably RCMP or FBI issue, or at least protected."

Cristall described a trip he took with Douglas and Hart and two Native militants to the Mt. Currie reservation about 160 kilometres north of Vancouver.

"Mt. Currie was the site of a prolonged confrontation between Natives and the B.C. government

MacInnis/Socialist Voice

Gary Cristall

in 1975 over the issues of fishing and hunting rights. A logging road had been cut through the reservation without Native permission. The Natives set up a series of roadblocks until the RCMP busted them on July 18, arresting dozens.

"Many of the Natives were frustrated and there were intense discussions on which direction to take the struggle. I attended meetings that included Douglas, several American Indian Movement (AIM) members, and Hart.

"I remember Hart claiming in these meetings that he had a lot of military training, and that he had done security work for the Black Panthers. He spent a lot of time talking to Native militants about military tactics, specifically dynamiting bridges. He said he had access to dynamite, and also to AK-47 rifles that he said Black veterans had brought back from Vietnam."

In no case did the Native militants fall for these provocations, Cristall said.

Similar incitements to violence by this RCMP agent probably occurred many times on this 1975 tour, Cristall pointed out.

"That was a time of growing rebellion by the Native peoples. In 1974 Anicinabe Park in Kenora was occupied; and there were the Cache Creek events in B.C. In 1975 there was the Mt. Currie blockade, the Batoche conference of Metis and Natives in Saskatchewan, and the Grassy Narrows conference.

"An RCMP report issued in July 1975—in the midst of Hart's cross-country tour—called the Native liberation movement 'the number one threat' to 'national security.'"

But it was RCMP provocateurs like Hart who posed the real threat to the security of Native people, Cristall said. And to the security of Blacks and immigrants, he added.

"While Hart the RCMP agent was personal bodyguard to Rosie Douglas, Douglas was in the middle of the Black immigrant community's efforts to fight the government's racist Green Paper on immigration."

"It is outrageous," said Cristall, "that Douglas was railroaded out of the country on the basis of RCMP reports that he was a 'threat to national security' while an RCMP agent, infiltrating Douglas's defense campaign, was fomenting violence behind his back."

Workers strike in protest against sex harassment

By Trixie Stevens

VANCOUVER—It's perhaps the most stunning display of solidarity for the rights of women the labor movement has yet produced in Canada. Workers in Campbell River, British Columbia have shut down the Raven Lumber sawmill, demanding the immediate dismissal of a supervisor and the reinstatement of the two part-time employees from whom he tried to force sexual favors.

The action began when the 118-member crew learned that the two women (not even union members because they were casual employees) quit coming to work because they found sexual advances by the supervisor made the job intolerable.

Doris Riel, one of the two, has filed a formal complaint. Since Monday morning, about 15 Campbell River women have picketed the mill in support of the workers' action.

The supervisor (who faced similar complaints a year ago) denied everything. And of course the company backed him to the hilt. Their sole offer was to take him off the job for a week while the charges were investigated. The union members refused to return to work under these conditions.

"We've had wildcats before," said local International Woodworkers of America president Lorne Scott, "but I've never seen a crew this angry." He said he doubted whether the Raven workers would obey the cease and desist order the company is seeking from the Labor Relations Board.

One hundred and eighteen men at Campbell River have shown how the labor movement—potentially the most powerful ally women can have—can use its strength to defend the interests of women.

Doris Riel's actions have said to us: Women don't have to passively accept sexual assault, feeling guilty themselves. We can fight back against sexual harassment and intimidation—and our brothers will stand with us.